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days the Manu people lived at Lemanmanu and the Kekeleo people at the neighbouring village of Lemankoa, a short distance along the coast. There was great enmity between the two villages, so that people from the one could not go inside the barricade of the other. Intermarriage never took place between them in those days, but now that there is no more fighting they intermarry and live in either the husband's village or the wife's village as they please.

It is not to be supposed that the hamlet was ever composed entirely of members of the lineage, since their spouses stood outside that group. The information at my disposal is not definite enough to show with certainty whether these people were, in the past, more inclined to be matrilocal than they now are, but there seems to be some likelihood that this was the case. This custom prevails, at the present time, to quite a considerable extent, but it appears to be, with certain reservations to be discussed later, a matter of personal preference whether a newly married couple take up their abode with the wife's people or with the husband's, i.e. whether marriage removes a member of the lineage from the hamlet, or adds to it an individual belonging to another clan. In the latter case, though individuals added by marriage form no part of the lineage group with which they are now affiliated by residence, they recognize the authority of the head of that group, without withdrawing their allegiance from the group which is theirs by birth. Sometimes other families connected with the new-comer will come and take up their residence in the hamlet in order to be near their kinsman. The hamlet, and still more the collection of hamlets which constitutes a village, is therefore composed of a number of individuals bound together by all or any of the varied ties of blood, of clan, of marriage, and of locality.

TSUNAUN AND COMMONERS

In each village or group of hamlets there is one lineage group which takes precedence of all the others. This lineage may belong to any clan, and the clan to which it belongs is considered the most important, and is generally the most numerous, in that village. It may be that this group originally formed the nucleus round which the village has grown. The head of such a lineage is called *tsunaun*.¹

¹ In order to avoid ambiguity I have retained the word *tsunaun* instead of translating it, since there is no single word which gives its sense exactly. 'Person of rank' or 'person of importance' would perhaps be a fair equivalent. No term

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613 The term applies not only to its actual head who is *tsunaun tʃan*
621 (= great *tsunaun*), but to his potential successors, and to women
• 565 whose children will be in the direct line of succession.

613 The succession is the same for both *tsunaun* and commoners, and
565 is hereditary, in the female line, but with the proviso that all the
males of one generation, if they live in the place, but not otherwise,
become head of the lineage in order of their birth, before the
succession passes to the eldest sister's eldest son. That is to say,
a man's successor is his next younger brother (in our sense of the
word), and so on until there are no more brothers living. Cases
occur in my genealogies of the succession then passing to the son
of the mother's sister, who is hardly differentiated from a blood
brother, but it does not appear to pass to any of the other persons
designated by the same classificatory term. The next in succession
is the eldest son of the eldest sister, or, if she have none, of the
next sister in age who has one. For this purpose the children of
two sisters count as sisters. No case occurs in my genealogies of
a lineal successor failing to be forthcoming, but I was told that if
this should occur, the child of some other woman of the same
clan would be chosen. The first heir of a new generation, i.e. the
eldest son of the eldest sister, is called *wamoa* ('first-born') in
the Kurtatchi dialect, and *got* in the Petats dialect.

613 Some concrete examples from my genealogies will serve to
illustrate this rule of succession. It is the same for Petats as for
Kurtatchi, and holds good, so far as my information extends,
throughout the area. Pinari, *tsunaun* of the Nakarib people at
Gomen (afterwards amalgamated with Kurtatchi), had inherited
from his mother's brother Pasis, who followed an elder 'brother'
Nau'uston (actually the son of his mother's elder sister). The other
males of this generation are all dead. Pinari's eldest sister, Pari,
had a son who died in adolescence, who would have been Pinari's
heir had he lived. Failing him, the present heir is Kakari, eldest
son of Matēv, the daughter of Pinari's mother's sister, ranking
therefore as Pinari's sister. Next to him will come Sankuro, a son
of a younger sister of Pinari, but in age between Kakari and Kakari's
younger brother, Wakuis, who will follow Sankuro. Then will

is applied collectively to the people who are not *tsunaun*, but when it is required
to emphasize the distinction a person will be described as *ti pinpiun*, a person of
no importance, literally, in the expressive pidgin-English phrase, 'man nothing'.
For these people I have used the term 'commoners'.

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come Wanias, *wamoa* of a new generation, son of Kakari's sister Rus. At the time of my visit Wanias was about four years old, already completely spoilt by the attention paid to him by virtue of his position.

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Belonging to the original village of Kurtatchi there is a *tsunaun* lineage of the Nakarib clan. Its head had been Murian, who had died some time before my period of residence. His younger brother had died before him, so the succession passed to Siani, the eldest son of Murian's mother's younger sister. It so happened that Murian and Siani had the same father, he having married two sisters, but this had no bearing on the succession. There are no more brothers, so the office will be handed on to the *wamoa*, Matsi, the son of Murian's eldest sister. Matsi is still a small boy. The first son of his adolescent sister, Nawi, will be *wamoa* of his generation, and will one day be the heir.

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I could get no information as to the origin of this difference between *tsunaun* and commoners. All discussions on the question elicited nothing but that they were *tsunaun* because they were related to people who had been *tsunaun* before them. The only information other than this was obtained from an old man at Tiop, who said that in olden times a man could be made *tsunaun* if he showed himself valiant in fighting. My visit to Tiop was brief, and I had no opportunity of checking this statement with other informants; I give his account therefore with this reservation. 'If a man had killed a great number of men, then it was decided that he should be made *tsunaun*. A raid was made on an enemy village, a prisoner was taken and brought back alive. His skin was cut until the blood flowed. The men who were already *tsunaun* washed the *tsunaun*-to-be in the prisoner's blood. This was done in the presence of all the people, so that all should know that he was *tsunaun*. The prisoner either died under this treatment or was killed, and the assembled people ate him in front of the principal house in the village. After this had been done, if the sister of the new *tsunaun* bore a child, he was *tsunaun* from birth, and so the rank was perpetuated.'

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Some *tsunaun* possessed, in the olden days, authority much wider than that over their own kindred or village. This extended authority seems to be bound up with the state of sporadic warfare that existed all the time, not only between the coast people and those of the interior, but also among the coast villages themselves.

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554 Certain groups joined together against a common enemy, and asked
 ● 565 one *tsunaun* to lead them all. Something of this extended authority, in a very attenuated condition, still survives. Pinari claimed a vague allegiance from the people of Timputs and Baniu, and said that before the time of the white man his lineage held sway over all the people living along the north coast of Bougainville and some of those of Buka. Pinari had a love of power and a somewhat exaggerated sense of his own importance, and detailed investigation in the area involved might have led to a modification of his statements, but there is no doubt that he had at one time been a *tsunaun* of considerable importance. He claimed that in the olden days his consent had to be asked before a fighting expedition was embarked upon: if he gave it, those who made the request had to pay him a length of ceremonial currency, if he refused it the project would be abandoned. The *tsunaun* was supposed to go to fight with his own people and to keep them together and prevent them from fighting among themselves. If he gave orders which were not obeyed, some of his followers would kill the offenders.

[77] Exactly what the powers of the *tsunaun* were in the olden days
 622 it is now very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain. The
 554 whole position has been fundamentally altered by the new system
 565 introduced by the Germans and continued by the present Government. An official, called the 'kukera',¹ is appointed for each village, or group of hamlets, who is responsible to the District Officer for the good behaviour of the villagers, but whose right to punish is limited to the imposition of a fine and, if that is ineffective, making a report to the D.O. He wears an official cap and is presented with a staff as a badge of office. He has under him a subordinate officer, called the 'tutul', who is usually chosen because of his ability to speak pidgin-English, so that he can act as interpreter between the natives and the government officials. In appointing the kukera, inquiries are made of the natives as to the persons they consider of importance, and if possible some one who is *tsunaun* is chosen, when his position as a government official is materially strengthened by the fact that his authority is already recognized in the village. But in some instances the *tsunaun* is either unwilling to take office under the white man, or is

¹ This word is said to belong to a New Britain dialect and to mean 'one who judges'.

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considered by the D.O. to be unsuitable by reason of his age, degree of intelligence, or on other grounds. Some other man is then chosen at the discretion of the D.O., and though the natives are obliged to acknowledge him, he continues to rank, in their estimation, as a commoner, and his position is not an easy one, unless he is friendly with the hereditary head of the group. In the village of Tabut, the *tsunaun*, Karabun, refused to be kukerai, but Wasang, the man appointed, was his great friend, and they worked harmoniously together. But when I was collecting genealogies at Tabut, it was emphasized that Karabun and his mother, Tsonkaisa, were the people of importance in that village, and that Wasang was 'a nobody'. In case of actual hostility between the hereditary *tsunaun* and the government-appointed kukerai, the position of the latter, though unassailable, would be far from enviable. The possibility was admitted and discussed, but no instances of it came under my personal observation.

It seems likely that the elective and purely local office of kukerai will, in course of time, entirely supersede the hereditary *tsunaun*, who is primarily, though not exclusively, entitled to allegiance from his own clan. An instance showing that this process is already beginning may be cited from my records. Pinari, *tsunaun* of the Nakarib clan, was appointed kukerai of the village at which he lived, called Gomen. Siani, the *tsunaun* of the Naboin clan, residing at the village of Kurtatchi, about a quarter of a mile away, had been offered the official cap as kukerai of Kurtatchi, but had refused it, saying that he was content to be subordinate to Pinari as kukerai of both villages. He subsequently went off to work as an indentured labourer, returning towards the close of my visit. He now lives at Kurtatchi as an ordinary villager, and takes no part in the conduct of its affairs.

As a result of this substitution of the government-controlled jurisdiction of the kukerai for the traditional jurisdiction of the *tsunaun*, and with the passing of warfare, in which the powers and rights of the *tsunaun* were most clearly apparent, the original state of affairs has become so difficult to disentangle that I am not able to give a clear account of the exact position occupied by the *tsunaun* of the olden days. It is certain that he possessed the power of life and death over those under his jurisdiction, but I have no very clear evidence as to whether he exercised it entirely alone, or how much he conferred, in this and other matters of importance,

614 with other *tsunaun* or with the old men of the group. A good deal
 622 seems always to have depended on personal character. Although
 the fact of being *tsunaun* was determined by heredity, and was
 • 565 inalienable, certain people are remembered, while others are forgotten, and it is natural that the man of strong personality would exercise authority far exceeding that of a *tsunaun* who was weak or indolent.

Pinari, in his dual capacity of *tsunaun* and *kukerai*, claimed as much authority as he dared, and bitterly regretted that the rule of the white man had deprived him of the power of life and death. He adjudicated on disputed questions of all kinds, claimed to have a say in the marriages of the people under his jurisdiction, and arranged for the holding of all important ceremonies. He did, occasionally, confer with the other men of the community, but he resented advice or criticism, unless it was offered with a considerable amount of tact. But he showed great respect for his two sisters, the only kinsfolk of his own generation still living, and sometimes even asked their advice. All three possessed a certain dignity of bearing and carriage that in itself showed that they were conscious of their position.

554 At the present time, the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners is still marked by the very apparent deference which is paid
 565 by commoners to all people who are *tsunaun*. This was evident both from the respect paid to them in their presence and from the tone in which every one referred to them when speaking to me or among themselves, though there were some who dared to criticize Pinari—behind his back. But the most obvious difference consists of the way in which every event in the life of those who are *tsunaun* is marked by elaborate ceremonial procedure which is either absent, or much modified, in the case of commoners. This applies not only to major events such as birth, marriage, and death, but also to such minor landmarks as the first time the baby is carried on his mother's pack (see p. 189), the first time a girl goes to the bush to collect areca-palm spathes, and so on. With the abandonment of native ritual in consequence of contact with the white man, this last remaining distinction will shortly disappear, as it has already done, to all intents and purposes, at Petats.

The ceremonies attendant upon the life of a *tsunaun* will be described in their appropriate context. Apart from such occasions, people who are *tsunaun* live, and, it would appear, always have

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lived, the same kind of life as commoners, observing the same taboos, working at the same tasks, eating the same food, and living in the same kind of huts. To this last statement there is one exception. The hut in which lives the chief wife of the head of the *tsunaun* lineage, who is usually herself *tsunaun*, has an extension in front of it, roofed, and walled at the sides but open in front, and provided with the usual platform. This is called the 'eye' of the house. Here is kept the slit-gong belonging to the *tsunaun*, which is beaten on ceremonial occasions as well as for dances. Here the older men of the village will sometimes congregate to talk, while the boys and younger men use the front of the men's house for that purpose. Except on certain ceremonial occasions, women are not allowed there, as it is only an extension of the *tagoan*, or men's verandah, of the ordinary houses. This extension makes the house the longest in the village. Its interior is no different from that of other houses. The houses occupied by other members of the *tsunaun* lineage do not differ at all, either inside or out, from those of commoners. There is no distinctive dress or attached ornament peculiar to *tsunaun*, but some of the cicatrized patterns may not be cut upon commoners.

So far as I can ascertain, the prestige of a *tsunaun* was never directly a matter of the possession of property. He is not expected to give large feasts at his own expense. If the group is concerned in an important ceremony, for which much food must be provided, he will contribute as much as possible, but the others must bring their own contributions as well. He does, as a rule, own more strings of ceremonial currency than most people can boast of, either handed down on the death of former *tsunaun* or received as payment for favours shown. But he needs more than a commoner to provide for the marriage payments of the young men of his lineage, who, being themselves *tsunaun*, should marry women equal to them in position.

A *tsunaun* usually has several wives, but that is not in itself a sign of rank, since commoners may also have as many as they wish and can provide for. He will, however, usually be betrothed to at least two while still a mere boy, whereas the commoner is probably betrothed in youth to one only, pleasing himself as to any subsequent marriages. It is usual for the first wife of a man who is *tsunaun* to be herself *tsunaun*, belonging to another village, and usually to another clan. His other wives may, if he so desires, be

- 565 commoners, but in that case their children are not *tsunaun*, and
 595 there is no possibility of their acquiring that status either by
 611 courtesy or by reason of any ceremonial procedure or by payment.
 Children by a woman who is *tsunaun* in her own right in another
 village are given their full meed of honour in that village, even
 though they may live with their father's people. They receive a
 measure of recognition in their father's village, but cannot succeed
 to the headship there. To illustrate by a concrete case: Rus,
 Pinari's chief wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood,
 was the sister of the *tsunaun* of the village of Ieta, on the southern
 coast of Buka, across Buka Passage. She had an elder sister, Kiots,
 whose son, Gerwan, was the next in succession at Ieta, but after
 his death, Wasē, son of Rus and Pinari, would be *tsunaun* at Ieta.
 Owing, as Pinari said, to his fear of 'poison', and as other people
 said, to pressure from his father, who was anxious to keep him
 among his followers, Wasē decided, on the death of his mother's
 elder brother, with whom he had been staying, to return and take
 up his residence at Kurtatchi. Here he was treated with respect
 as the son of Pinari, but it was explained to me that he was only
 'half-*tsunaun*' in that village, and was definitely inferior in position
 to Kakari, Pinari's 'sister's' son. Pinari pushed him to the fore
 as much as he could, and did his best to play him against Kakari,
 whom he covertly disliked. Actually Wasē took quite a promi-
 nent part in the affairs of the village, and was to share with Kakari
 the responsibility for organizing the *watawut*f ceremony under
 Pinari's tuition.

565 A woman who is *tsunaun* may marry a commoner if she likes
 582 him, and if he can produce the necessary large amount of cere-
 611 monial currency. The children of such a marriage are *tsunaun*; the
 fact that their father was a commoner makes no difference at all.

565 Although it may easily happen that a *tsunaun* is possessed of
 754 special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, this is inci-
 789 dental to his position and not essentially connected with it. Magical
 knowledge is just as often the property of commoners. Sobak, one
 of the rain-makers of Kurtatchi, is a commoner. Pinari, the
tsunaun tʃan, took the principal part at the ceremony for planting
 a new taro garden described in Chapter IX, but at a precisely
 comparable ceremony performed for a taro garden belonging to
 Tabut, that role was filled by a commoner. Examples might be
 multiplied. But those who are *tsunaun* are regarded as specially

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liable to come to harm through black magic, or, as they call it, 'poison', which will probably be made against them by those who are jealous of their power, though I do not think there is any implied suggestion that a *tsunaun*'s direct heirs would try to kill him in order to succeed to the headship of the lineage. Their danger is never far from the minds of members of the *tsunaun* lineage. It is responsible for some at least of the ritual surrounding the lives of all who are *tsunaun*. On the occasion of a ceremony performed for the child Wanas, I asked why wailing by the women, resembling the ritual wailing for the dead, played such a prominent part in the proceedings, and was told that it was because they were sorry for Wanas, who would probably meet his death by poison because he was *tsunaun*. 565 ● 754 789 [852]

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

Returning again to the single individual who was our starting-point, we have now to examine his position in regard to the people to whom he is connected by ties either of blood or marriage. The relationship system is, as is to be expected in Melanesia, of the kind termed 'classificatory', in which the same term is applied to a number of individuals standing to the person who uses the term in different physiological relationships, varying much in the nearness of the blood tie between them. But in using these terms he does not lose sight of such distinctions, although they are not expressed in his nomenclature. There are always certain people who stand closer to him than others to whom he applies the same relationship term, while those who are actually farthest removed in blood, especially if also distant in residence, may mean to him almost nothing, although, when questioned, he includes them in his application of the term.¹ In every case, relatives who are also 601

¹ The rendering of a Melanesian relationship term by an English word belonging to our own relationship system is unsatisfactory, because it can hardly fail to suggest a spurious similarity in connotation to that which we habitually associate with the word chosen as a translation. But it would be difficult to render a native system intelligible without proceeding to the unfamiliar by way of the familiar, and it has therefore been customary to adopt, as a conventional translation for each term, the English name for the relative who, of all those to whom the term is applied, stands physiologically nearest to the individual. For example, the word applied to the mother, mother's sister, father's sister, father's other wives, father's brother's wife, &c., is conventionally translated 'mother'. This may serve so long as it is made clear that there is no confusion in the mind of the native speaker between the various individuals to whom he applies the term, and that a very definite distinction is always present between

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applies the same relationship term *tsoa-*) and to the children of his father's sister, although he applies to this woman the term *tʃina-* ('mother'). It is also applied to the children of any woman in the ascending generation who stands to the individual in the relationship called *watʃtʃio* (see no. 9). 605

This is a taboo relationship. Persons calling each other *piʔan* must not touch each other's hair, must not use paint out of the same dish for painting hair, face, or body, and must not sleep on each other's bed even if unoccupied. The touching of the hair in particular is to be avoided. For this reason, while a person may take a cigarette or a pipe from between the lips of his *piʔan*, he may not take it from the hole in his ear-lobe (a frequent method of carrying such things), or from behind his ear. If these taboos are broken it is thought that a skin disease will break out upon the offender. But *piʔan* may use each other's less personal possessions, such as fishing nets. [753]

If taro is cooked in the house, or a feast made for any member of it, his *piʔan* may not eat any. This rule deprived two small children, Gav and Gaua, of all share in the much-desired taro-and-coco-nut pudding that was made on the many ceremonial occasions observed for Wanias, who is their mother's father's sister's daughter's son.

This taboo never comes to an end. It carries with it a prohibition of marriage, which is not, however, absolutely inviolable, at least, a case came to my notice in which it was broken although under protest. Both families involved in the marriage were *tʃinaun*, and such families appear to have, or to allocate to themselves, the right to break customary rules with a degree of impunity denied to commoners. Rusu, wife of Pinari, very much wished her daughters, Pesē and Marotē, to marry two brothers who, though they belonged to another village, stood to the girls in the relation of *piʔan*, their mother being Pinari's cross-cousin, and Pinari therefore their *tsoa-*. The mother of the prospective bridegrooms was against the match, and said to her sons: 'I don't think you ought to marry back your *piʔan*.' But she was overruled, and the marriage took place. In this case one breach of rule was expiated by another breach of the same rule, for these two marriages were compensated for by a union (also arranged by Rusu) between her son Wasē and his *piʔan* Takon, 'sister' (actually ortho-cousin) of the men in question (see Fig. 4). In discussing this question when it arose during the taking of their genealogies, 605
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- 605 Togen and Matarē told me that their marriages were not really
582 in order, but that they agreed because they were afraid of offending
● 565 Pinari. In spite of this inauspicious beginning, both marriages
seem to be turning out reasonably well.

9. *Watstfio* (term used reciprocally).

- 601 This term is applied by a woman to the children of her cross-
cousins on either side of the house, that is to say, the offspring of
her mother's brother's children or of her father's sister's children,
and by them to her. It will be seen that the reciprocal term applies
to people belonging to an upper and a lower generation, and that
while the lower generation can be either male or female, in the
upper generation the term applies to females only.

- 604 This is a taboo relationship. The woman of the elder generation
582 may not hold such a child in her arms when it is small, and she
684 must not touch it when it is grown up. She must never eat in its
presence. This relationship carries with it a very strong taboo
against marriage, which is somewhat striking in view of the fact
that two persons standing to each other in this relationship are
always of different clans, as will be apparent from the table of
kinship terms. I was informed more than once that in the olden
days the penalty for extra-marital intercourse between *watstfio*,
if discovered, was death for both. Members of the woman's
lineage would kill the woman, and members of the man's lineage
[266] would kill the man. The woman was then eaten by the man's
lineage-group and the man by the woman's, no retaliation following
on either side. At the present time, they say, all that would happen
is that the couple would be banished from the village.

- 601 The term *watstfio* is also used reciprocally between a woman
and the child of her husband's sister (i.e. her husband's *wewnē*-).
604 By extension, it also applies to the child of any other individual
582 who stands to her husband in the relationship of *wewnē*-. But this
does not carry with it so strong a prohibition against marriage,
which, though irregular, is not impossible. Tahol, married to
Tsigot, took as her lover Wasē, son of Rusu, Tsigot's *wewnē*-
(actually his ortho-cousin). After this affair had twice resulted in
pregnancy, Tsigot divorced Tahol, and Wasē married her. In
telling me about this all the individuals concerned laid stress on
the fact that she was not Wasē's *watstfio tsūn* ('real' or 'true'
watstfio) or the marriage would never have been countenanced.

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who are *tsunaun*; in the case of commoners the occasion goes unmarked, and there is no change of name. Theoretically the previous name is now taboo and should be heard no more, but in practice it is often retained. 553

In adult life, names are changed chiefly as a result of death. No change is made on marriage, or on the birth of a child, but if the child should die, both mother and father take another name as part of their mourning. A woman who loses her first-born will call herself Tchinamoa, 'mother of one (dead child)', and will continue to use that name even after the birth of other children who survive. Similarly, the child's father will be called Tamanamoa, 'father of one'. Other names assumed in consequence of the loss of children are Tamanaketa, 'father of a buried (child)', Tamana-guwur (from *taguwur*, a child who dies of croup), Bunamoa, 'grandparent of one (dead child)', &c. One woman who had lost all her children styled herself, pathetically, Tchinpasen, 'Mother alone'. An odd hybrid name is Tchinarop, the mother of a child who died at Rabaul and was let down into the grave with a rope. Similarly, a child will mark the loss of a parent by calling himself Moitaman or Ketaman, 'no father' (*ke* being an abbreviation of *ake*, no, not). In the latter case the name referred to the loss of the individual's father's brother, his actual father being still alive. Loss of a mother may be marked by taking the name Tatchinan (*ake ta tina*), 'no mother'. A widow will sometimes take some name connected with her husband's death, but this is not nearly so general as the change upon the death of a child. 551 765

For the death of a child or an adult commoner, only the nearer relatives change their names, and even this appears to be done at the discretion of the individual. The former name may remain in use, and after a time the assumed name is heard mainly from those who find it convenient because the personal name is taboo to them. But for the death of a *tsunaun* every one in the village, even the children, will change, adopting some name having a bearing on the catastrophe. Sarumpots, the brother of Pinari (the same man who figures in the story told on a previous page), had his leg bitten off by a shark, in consequence of which he died. Every one in the place took some name connected with this disaster. Two persons—father and daughter (no relation to Sarumpots)—took the name Baki, a word meaning 'shark', not in the dialect spoken at Kurtatchi, but in that of Hanahan on Buka, a village with which Kurtatchi 551 565 765

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551 has an intimate connexion. Another woman is now called 'Tchina'-
 565 eviat; *eviat* is the word for the bamboo rod used in catching bonito,
 765 the connexion being that Sarumpots was engaged in bonito-fishing
 when the accident occurred. The name of Sobak, my next-door
 neighbour, means 'to make a grab at', as the shark does at its
 victim, and commemorates the same catastrophe. In cases of
 importance the old names seem to be dropped completely. I never
 succeeded in ascertaining what the names of these people had
 been before. All inquiries were side-stepped by the answer: 'No
 one uses it.'

551 As previously explained, these substitute names may be used
 by relatives who are not permitted to say the individual's personal
 name. The taboo on the names of certain relatives extends to the
 use of words which are the same as these names, for which some
 substitute must be found, either a circumlocution or a word from
 another dialect.

551 These taboos are falling into disuse in consequence of contact
 177 with the white man. Most of the people at Petats showed no
 hesitation in saying the names of their taboo relatives when giving
 me their genealogies, but at Kurtatchi they either gave me a substi-
 tute name or the name of the relationship, or asked some one
 standing by to say the forbidden word. One man, finding himself
 alone with me, having occasion to speak of his brother's wife,
 whose name he should not say, whispered: 'She is my *wagun*, but
 I'll steal her name and say it quietly.'

[659] The whole system of substituting or changing names is destined
 to disappear in the near future by reason of the introduction of
 the Government census. 'Name e stop along paper belong white
 man, no can loose im.'

SUMMARY

612 The outstanding characteristics of the structure of this society
 613 may be summarized as follows: The kindred, comprising the
 591 mother and the father, the siblings of both, and their children, is
 the unit of which the individual is most aware in relation to the
 ordinary give-and-take of everyday life. In general, the tie between
 the individual and his relatives on the mother's side of the house
 (his lineage) is the stronger, but much depends upon whether the
 individual is living in the mother's or the father's village. This is
 to some extent a matter of his parents' choice, but if one individual

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

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of a married couple is of more importance than the other, the spouse will take up residence in the village of the partner who has the higher status. In any case, the kindred, as defined above, counts for more than the clan. 612
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The recognized social unit is the lineage, its head is the eldest living male, hence it follows that the person to whom an individual looks as the one officially in authority over him is his mother's eldest living brother. Some lineage groups take precedence of the rest; their members are known as *tsunaun*, and the head of such a group is a person of great authority, though now possessing less than in the olden days. 565
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For the reckoning of descent and succession the mother's side of the house is all-important, the father's side completely ignored, i.e. the community is in this respect exclusively matrilineal. But in the case of inheritance of personal property, either in goods or in knowledge, the society is both matrilineal and patrilineal, that is to say, a man can bequeath such property to his son or to his sister's son, or divide it between them, as he pleases. 428
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Throughout the area there are two main clans, but others, smaller in numbers, though not considered as subdivisions, occur: the names and number of these small clans differ in different districts. With each clan is associated some creature, usually, but not always, a bird, but the association now amounts to little more than that of name, though it may once have been more important. The significance of the clan as a social unit seems to have declined considerably with the abolition of warfare. 614
[521]

Marriage is normally exogamous, but exceptions to this rule seem always to have occurred not infrequently. The important thing is to avoid persons with whom direct relationship can be traced either through the mother or through the father, marriages between cousins and the children of cousins being strongly taboo. (This applies to both parallel and cross-cousins.) The bride is preferably obtained from another village. 582

The relationship system is a 'classificatory' one, comparable with those found in other parts of Melanesia, with strong taboos regulating social intercourse between certain persons. The most important of these are their regulations applying to the wife's mother-daughter's husband relationship, and to that between the parents of husband and the parents of wife. These restrictions are lifted under certain circumstances. 601
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MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

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is not told anything about the betrothal. It is usual for the father of a boy who is *tsunaun* to choose for his son's first wife a girl who is his equal in rank, but there appears to be no hard and fast rule on the subject. A *tsunaun* girl may be betrothed to a commoner if her mother agrees, but this is somewhat unusual, as it involves the handing over, at a later stage in the negotiations, of a larger amount of ceremonial currency than a commoner is likely to have at his disposal. 584 [565] • [436]

At the time arranged the boy's mother goes to the girl's village, taking with her some leaves of the plant called *unun*, which were used for women's girdles before they possessed loin-cloths, and the variegated leaves of *iag* (*Coleus Blumei* var.). This plant is grown along with taro in the gardens and is supposed to ensure a good crop, so it is possible that the use of its leaves in betrothal may have some reference to the bride's future fertility, but my informants did not say so. It is used also in the ceremony for a pregnant woman (see p. 142). The boy's mother decorates the girl with these leaves, putting some round her neck and some round her waist. The two mothers chew the betel-mixture together. Except for this, nothing is eaten at this part of the proceedings, and there is no dancing. Word goes round to all the villages that the girl is betrothed, so that no one else will try to get her. But she still remains with her mother, and does not go near the boy's village as yet. 584 [824] [291]

When she is about seven or eight ('as big as Kiram's wife Buin', who is about that age), the boy's mother goes to the girl's village and paints the girl's hair with *oin*. If the boy's mother is dead his mother's sister undertakes this duty. When she has finished painting the girl's hair, she may, if she wishes, take the girl home with her. She first chews the betel-mixture with the girl's mother, and fixes a time for her to come and visit her daughter. The girl then accompanies her future mother-in-law home, and the boy now sees his bride for the first time. This first meeting is called *komau*. The girl goes inside the boy's mother's hut, but she stays near the woman's entrance, and does not go near his bed (if he has not yet put on the *ape* and is therefore still sleeping there). She must not speak to the boy; the two are very shy with one another. 584 [302]

After three or four days agreed upon have passed, the girl's mother comes to the boy's village, accompanied by other women from her own village. Any woman who wishes may join in this

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

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provide them with taro and *menak*, &c.. When they have eaten, they go back to the girl's village.

Soon after the boy's mother has received this intimation by means of the offering of pig-meat, she cooks pieces of pig and taro and wraps them up into packages with leaves, lays them in a *kobu* (receptacle made of the spathe of the areca-palm), and sends it to the relative she expects to provide her with the necessary ceremonial currency in respect of the marriage of her son. This is generally her brother, the boy's *tsao*, but if he cannot produce enough a similar *kobu* containing food is sent to other male relatives until enough is provided. If necessary, the relatives of the boy's father may also be called upon. If the recipient of the *kobu* cannot provide any currency-strings, he must not eat any of the food, but must send the *kobu* back with its contents untouched. If he can help, he eats the food sent to him, and presently brings to the boy's mother such strings of *imun* (currency consisting of porpoise or flying-fox teeth, see p. 448 and Pl. 67) or *beroan* as he is prepared to contribute. It is not handed over to the girl's people at once, but remains for a time in the boy's mother's hut. Sometimes it takes a long time to collect the necessary amount.

The amount required is more or less governed by convention, but was said by my informants to be fixed by the girl's father. In actual fact, I found that other relatives, including her mother's brother, especially if he lived in the same village, also had a say in the matter. In this, as in many other matters, practice is more elastic than theory. It varies in different districts, and also according to the position of the girl. For a girl who is *tsunaun* a much larger amount changes hands than for a commoner. For Tagoal, Kiram's wife, it was ten fathoms of *beroan* and ten of *imun*, both porpoise and flying fox. A fathom of *beroan* has a value to the natives of about 5s. in our money, and one of *imun* of either kind is worth about £5, in their estimation, so that the arbitrary conventional value of the currency handed over in respect of Tagoal's marriage amounted to about £52 10s. For a commoner a usual amount is said to be four fathoms of *beroan* and two of *imun*. But it may be more, and it is said sometimes to be as little as one string of *imun* and one or two of *beroan*.

In answer to a question as to what would happen if the boy's people could not collect the amount asked for, my informants said the ceremony would be deferred until they had. Asked further, 'But

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583 strings were shared. This occasion was comparatively devoid of ceremony, because the girl was a commoner.

583 Up to the time when the strings of *imun* are hung up from the roof of the hut, a girl who is *tsunaun* must remain inside. Her mother has painted her hair with red and black paint (*ois* and *tsina*), in alternate stripes. If she belongs to the clan Naboin the paint is put on in many narrow stripes, to represent a *sui*, a kind of sea-urchin. If she belongs to the clan Nakarib she has a broad black stripe on each side of her head and a red one in the centre. I could get no explanation of the difference in the patterns, except that they 'belonged to' the respective clans. The *sui* is not a totem. *Beroan* and *imun* belonging to her own people are put on her wrists, and her *ruanbē* (husband's mother) or some one chosen by her, usually the girl's *tsawē* (husband's sister) puts more paint on her hair, on the top of the *usbog* pattern that had previously been put on, so that her head is heavy with paint. Then the *imun* and *beroan* are taken off her wrists and given back to her mother. The strings of currency which were hung up over the *tagoan* are taken down, and all the guests, both men and women, go into the hut, and eat the food that has been provided by the girl's mother. When all have eaten their fill, they go outside, except the boy's mother, who remains inside, looking for a chance to give to the girl's mother a string of *imun* and one of *beroan* which she kept back for the purpose, when the rest of the currency was hung up at the *tagoan*. This is for the girl's mother personally. She does not get any of the strings which were hung up, they go to the girl's *tsoa* and other relatives on both sides of the house. The boy's mother must give these personal strings to the girl's mother secretly, when no one is looking. When she has done so, the two mothers join the rest of the party outside the hut, and all the guests are given food to take back with them in the *kōbū* they have brought on purpose. They get taro, 'possum, pig, *menak*, all in large quantities.

583 The girl must now go back with her husband's people. But if she is *tsunaun* she is not allowed to walk, so a man who belongs to the same clan as her husband takes her up pick-a-back. If she is small and light she is carried thus all the way to her husband's village, but if she is heavy she is carried only for a short distance outside her own village and then set down. So she comes to the boy's village, and there she must now remain. Once the currency has been handed over, she cannot go back to her mother any more

585 put on the platform that was previously prepared in the boy's mother's hut. All the kinsmen of the boy, male and female, who belong to the same clan (that is, all the members of his lineage) go and eat with the young couple, and they can bring in any one they wish, irrespective of clan. They eat all the food that was given them at the girl's village, which the women have brought back with them. The young couple really eat this time, instead of pretending.

Then the married pair lie down together on one bed¹ inside the boy's mother's hut and the marriage is consummated. My informants ended their account by saying: 'The man wants the woman all the time, they have connexion again and again, they go on all the time, they cannot sleep.'

585 184 The account given at Tabut differs somewhat from the preceding one obtained at Kurtatchi. Apart from the details previously mentioned, the ceremony is described as taking place at the boy's village, and after it, all the boy's *waris* go back to their own village, while the girl stays with her husband, and is supposed to cry for her mother—some really cry, some only pretend. When the sun goes down, the young couple are told to go into the boy's mother's hut and eat the taro that they will find there. Not many people are there, only the boy's mother and his grandmother. The boy's grandmother tells the girl: 'Now you must not be ashamed before your husband any more.' Then she tells the boy: 'And you, you must not be ashamed before your wife. You two can sleep together on one bed now, and can eat together out of one basket of taro.' Then the two eat, the boy eats first and the girl after him. They eat a piece of pig and a piece of taro. The boy bites off a piece and then gives the rest to the girl. This is to signify that, in future, when the husband eats, he will not finish all the food, but will leave some for his wife, who must finish it, and the girl must take care to provide the man with plenty of food. 'Then the two lie together and have sexual intercourse, they laugh on the bed, they play with each other and talk, and chew the betel-mixture, they do not sleep.'

532 184
● 565 585 On the Lontis coast, north-western Buka, when a woman who is *tumawa* marries and is escorted to her husband's hut—or rather to his mother's hut, where they will live at first, in most instances—

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¹ In the ordinary way man and wife occupy separate planks, with the usual space between for a smouldering fire.

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184 she is preceded by a man carrying a wooden figure (*kaisa*) representing a woman, carved out of soft wood, about three feet high, 532 and realistically painted, no physical features being omitted. A long pole-like handle is carved in one piece with the figure, by 565 means of which the figure is carried on high like a standard. It is set 585 down beside the door of the hut, and after the bride has gone in, it is taken to the *tobar* belonging to the men of the bridegroom's mother's clan, and carefully stored there. This figure, although [942] that of an adult, represents the woman's future child; its purpose is to ensure that she will soon conceive. It is female because it is [562] desirable that her first child shall be a girl. Female children are much desired in this community because, descent being matrilineal, the children of a woman who is *tsunaun* will themselves be *tsunaun* and carry on the line, whatever the position of their father. When once the figure is placed in the *tobar* it may not be taken out again, for if a woman were to see it the child would die. It remains in the *tobar* until the child is fully grown, when it is destroyed. But the hold of this belief is weakening, and on my expressing a desire to purchase one such figure which was shown to me, I was permitted to do so, on condition that I carried it away carefully swathed in wrappings, and did not allow any of the native women to see it, a promise which I took care to keep. It is reproduced in Pl. 8a.

532 There are certain men who know how to carve these figures. 435 Unless the bridegroom's family numbers one of these among its members, they have to pay one string of *beroan* and give a pig to the man who makes it, or they may pay another six strings of *beroan* in lieu of the pig.

532 The use of these figures is rapidly dying out on the island of 177 Buka and its adjacent islets, owing to discouragement by the missionaries on the ground that they are obscene. On Bougainville, 174 very similar figures are made for use in the *watawut* ceremony (see Pl. 28), but so far as I could ascertain they are not used in the marriage rites in that region.

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SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

Occasion	Transactions
1. Betrothal, when both are children, the girl often quite a baby.	Father of boy presents spear hung with one string of <i>beroan</i> to mother of girl. Betel-mixture chewed.

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

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though he did not know why. Her relatives would not consent to the match, they said her husband might want her back. As it was near the end of my period of residence, I did not hear whether anything further was done in the matter. In another case, in which all the principals were personally known to me, that of Kakari's marriage to Muben, the match was suggested by Muben's *tsao* (actually the mother's mother's sister's son, but equivalent to the mother's brother). He lived at Kurtatchi, but actually belonged to Baniu, where Muben's mother lived. He was very ambitious, and clearly wanted the marriage because it allied him to the most important family in the district. That is to say, while the initiative usually rests with the boy's family, it may, on occasion, be taken by some relative of the bride's. Again, Pinari, who liked to exercise his authority, saw to it that he had a say in the case of betrothals of any of the young people in his village, even of those not closely related to him, and as he was *tsunaun tsan*, deference was paid to his views. 584 [557]

The betrothal is not absolutely binding until the ceremonial currency has been handed over by the boy's people. This may be done while the girl is still quite small, but it is not necessary, or usual, to do so until her breasts begin to develop. Once arranged, a betrothal is seldom broken, even before the currency has changed hands, and to break it after that is a serious matter. A case came to my notice where a man fell in love with a girl who was already betrothed, and eventually ran away with her. Although the ceremonial exchanges connected with the prospective marriage had not been completed, the affair was regarded as a serious breach of customary rule, but it was finally settled by a payment of ceremonial currency from the lover to the girl's affianced husband. The couple have been living very happily together for several years. They have one child, a boy about a year old, whom both adore. It seems to be a genuine love match, a somewhat rare occurrence among these people. 583 584 684 [565] [554]

At the time of betrothal, the boy may be considerably older than the girl, and may have finished his puberty ceremonies and taken off the *upi*, or he may be only slightly older and continue to wear the *upi* for several years subsequently. All except the youngest boys wearing the *upi* at Kurtatchi were already betrothed. The marriage is never consummated till the puberty ceremonies are finished and the *upi* removed, and usually not until the girl has 582 583 585

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

582 experienced her first menstruation, though there appear to be
 [385] some exceptions to this latter rule. A youth who is *tsunamen* will
 • 565 have more than one wife assigned to him at an early age. They
 582 are called husband and wife from the time of betrothal. Kiram,
 595 a lad of fourteen or fifteen, had for his first 'wife' Tagoal, a girl
 of perhaps ten or twelve (see Pl. 7 a). For her the ceremonial
 currency had been handed over. His second 'wife', Buin, was
 about seven or eight, and was still spending most of her time with
 her mother, the currency not having changed hands as yet.

574 During the years between betrothal and the marriage ceremony,
 584 the girl pays long and frequent visits to her husband's people, or
 883 may, in some cases, be taken over by them altogether, particularly
 if her mother is not living. But if the boy still wears the *upi*, they
 are kept rigorously apart; there is no chance of their getting to
 know each other at all, and when the time comes for the marriage
 to be consummated they are still practically strangers. Some girls
 fret a good deal on their visits to their 'in-laws', others appear to
 settle down quite happily. As regards the routine of her life, the
 early betrothal makes little difference to a girl. She works for her
 husband's people instead of for her own, and looks after his babies,
 if he is already married, instead of the babies of her mother's
 family. She is, as a rule, well treated by her prospective mother-
 in-law, and drops into place with the girls of her own age in the
 village, who treat her as one of themselves.

BEGINNING OF MARRIED LIFE

591 After the final marriage ceremony, the young couple usually
 settle down near the husband's people, sometimes actually in his
 mother's hut, to begin with. Kakari and Muben were still living
 with Matēv nine months after their marriage, in spite of Matēv's
 repeated hints that it was time he built a hut for himself in the
 vacant space next to hers. But sometimes, under pressure from
 the girl's people, the couple will live in her village, especially if she
 be a person of importance. There are enough instances of both
 practices to suggest that it is not correct to describe these natives
 as either 'matri-' or 'patrilocal', but that there is freedom of choice,
 with the balance towards the custom of living in the village which
 was the husband's home before marriage. In either case, they will,
 in years to come, spend a certain amount of time in the village
 which was the home of the other partner.

562 neglects her and is surly with her, and even in his best temper
578 seems to take pleasure in teasing her by snatching her pipe out
593 of her mouth or hiding her tobacco. She is looked after by one
of his other wives, and would, if she left him, have no one to take
care of her material needs.

The fault for an unhappy marriage is not always with the man.
The two following instances give the other side of the picture. I
transcribe them from my file of 'personal histories'.

562 Dau is a gentle, unassuming man, very fond of his wife Ira, the
578 daughter of Pinari. He is working as an indentured labourer, but
593 on a plantation near enough for him to come to the village fairly
159 often. But although he spends all his earnings on Ira, bringing her
loin-cloths and beads, &c., she treats him abominably, refuses to
look after him when he comes, will not cook for him, and is always
nagging him. Sometimes she cooks food for him and leaves it for
[578] another woman to give to him, which is a deliberate insult. She
is a bad-tempered woman, and is always having quarrels with the
other people, especially with her father, who once gave her a
whipping because of the way she treated her husband. She is
disliked in the village, and the other women told me that her
husband could easily divorce her because she would not cook for
him, but that he cared too much for her. She does not want to be
divorced because he brings her presents. They have been married
only a few months. This is definitely an unhappy marriage with
the woman to blame, so far as I can ascertain.

Rus, now aged somewhere in her twenties, was married to
Keketsian of Ieta, while both were children, but he died before
she had any children by him. She was subsequently married to
[855] Watawi, by whom she has a son Wanas, now aged about 3-4, who
[565] will some day be heir to the *tsunaum*, and is completely spoilt by
her and the whole village. She is a cross, sulky woman, and never
got on well with Watawi, who is said to have tried his hardest to
make her happy. Watawi became very ill, but she refused to nurse
him or to provide him with food. Finally Mrs. Hadden, for whom
Watawi had worked, took pity on him and kept him at her planta-
tion, where she looked after him till he died. All the time he was
there, Rus would never come near him, though he continually
asked for her, neither would she let him see his baby, of whom he
was passionately fond. When she was sent for, she returned angry
messages that she couldn't be bothered with him. He had been

PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH

856 bandages or a cradle-board, are employed to accentuate the effect.

[854] There are no cradles; if it is required to put the baby down it is laid on a woman's hood on the ground, but this is not often done, and I do not think it lies on its back sufficiently to cause any occipital flattening.

846 The child receives only the most superficial cleansing for the first five days. Then it is thoroughly washed in fresh water. It may then be taken outside the hut, but its mother is careful to keep it out of the sun. There is a tendency on the part of young mothers nowadays to shorten the period of seclusion in the hut, which they must share with the child, but the old women do not countenance this breach of rule if they can help it. If the child is *tsunau*, i.e. 854 if its mother is a woman of rank, the period of seclusion must be extended to ten days.

LACTATION

853 In the absence of any animal whose milk can be utilized, the infant is entirely dependent upon its mother for this essential of its diet. In cases of the mother's inability to feed the infant or inability on the part of the infant to suckle, it usually dies. I did not hear of any cases in which the infant of a living woman was suckled by some one else, but instances are known to me where the sister of a woman who had died was feeding the dead woman's baby, having lost her own.

Babies are not passed round and suckled by different women at various times, as has been reported from other regions. While the child is small the mother keeps it with her constantly, taking it with her when she goes to the taro garden or to search for shell-fish on the reef. When it is a little older it may be left at home in charge of a small girl or another woman, but the mother will return to feed it. There is no attempt at regularity of feeding; it is generally offered the breast if it cries much. Some women have very pendulous breasts, but I have not seen any long enough to be thrown over the shoulder to a child carried on the back. I have often seen a woman bend down with her hands on her knees so that a child standing beside her could suck.

757 Women whose children die during the lactation period frequently suffer considerable pain from the retention of the milk. 824 In the cases which came under my personal observation, nothing was done to relieve this, but in my collection of 'prescriptions'

CHILDHOOD

DISCIPLINE

854 While they are very small, the children are subjected to little or nothing that we should describe as discipline. If a baby gets hold of something he ought not to have, his mother may take it away from him, but if he howls she usually gives it back. I have heard a woman shout to her baby not to lick up water from the ground, but immediately afterwards he ate a leaf which he had picked up, without comment from her. I once incurred the wrath of the mother of a child of about two, because I took away from him a long bush knife with which he seemed in imminent danger of doing himself an injury. He screamed, and his mother came running, and scolding me roundly for having made him cry, gave the knife back to him. The babies seem to learn at an early age how to handle sharp instruments, for cuts are rare. But they sometimes pay dearly for the experience which takes the place of precept. Burns are distressingly frequent. Fires are lit on the ground, or on the floor of a hut, and there is nothing to prevent a baby from crawling or rolling into them. Not only do no precautions seem to be taken against such disasters, but one of the first things a toddler is asked to do by a lazy parent is to go and fetch a piece of smouldering ember or burning stick with which to rekindle his pipe. Obedience to this—or any other—order is never insisted upon, however. Scenes like this are enacted in every village every day. Father is sitting on the verandah or on a log somewhere about the village, his pipe has gone out. He says to his small daughter, aged perhaps five, 'Di ma ta tsura.' 'Fetch me some fire.' 'Tsuga.' 'I don't want to,' says she, without moving. Father takes no notice at all, but goes on with what he happens to be doing without his pipe, and presently gets up and fetches his fire for himself. I have never seen a child made to do an errand if it did not want to.

- [565] A child who is *tsunau* has only to cry, for all the people within reach to rush up to him, and, if possible, give him what he is crying for. Several men once spent the greater part of a day in making ceremonial pudding for Wanas merely because he cried for some. Other children are given what they cry for if it does not involve too much trouble, or, if too big to be soothed by being offered the breast, they are left to cry themselves quiet.

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855 Some children indulge in tempestuous fits of howling. This sometimes takes the form of a series of disconnected yells which

861 laughed. But I have seen children really frightened by the jokes of their elders, as ours are by threats of 'the boggy man'. Pasab told his little daughter Beawon that something she had eaten by the road had poison in it. She cried, and all the people standing round laughed at her.

863 As a rule but little notice is taken of the habits of children as regards natural functions. They follow the example of their elders. But if a child is seen to be about to relieve himself in front of the

854 row of huts, he will be scolded and sent round to the back. Mothers clean their babies with bundles of leaves, which are then thrown away casually into the bush. But the excreta of a baby who is

● [565] ~~tsomom~~ must, while he is very small, be collected carefully and thrown into a special enclosure on the beach because he is specially liable to danger from 'poison'.

CHILDREN'S PLAY

857 Although it is true that these children take up a life not very different from that of their elders, at a much earlier age than do our own children, yet I think they have, on the whole, a happy childhood. There is plenty of scope for the development of character, and some children seem to possess individuality to a marked degree. Life is never so serious that there is not time for play and laughter, even for adults, and the children certainly have their fill of both.

While they are little, children of both sexes play together, but as soon as the boy reaches the age when he puts on the *api*, which may sometimes be as young as seven or eight (approximately), but usually, apparently, about nine or ten, he is forbidden to play or have any close converse with the girls and women, so these boys form a 'gang' of their own both for games and also for work, in so far as they do not join with the older men in fishing and hunting expeditions, &c. The little girls very early take up their share in the routine work of the village, fetching water, collecting shell-fish on the reef, going to the taro garden, or looking after the babies, and there does not seem to be any tendency for the girls of the village to form a gang. They are more often to be seen going about in twos or threes, or with the older women. Even before the age of segregation, the little boys seemed more often to be playing by themselves than with the little girls, perhaps because the girls were more likely to be engaged in the daily round. No duties seem

789 elaborate than most of them is the following, especially intended
856 to strengthen a child whose mother has died when it is very small:

824 Take the stem of the creeper *asam* near the root (*asam* is *Lygodium dichotomum*, the root of which is used as a contraceptive; the essential quality in both uses is apparently the toughness and hardness of the plant). Take the leaves of the following plants: *worato*, *bakbak* (*Eleusine indica*), *takop*, *tom-tom* (these are both varieties of *cordyline*), *waras* (a grass, *Digitaria pruriens*), and a small plant with a blue flower of which my informant did not know the name.

Pound these leaves and the stem of *asam* all together into a pulp, by means of a stone. Mix with this pulp a little *owan* (red powder used for many magical purposes, consisting of impure iron oxide). Wrap up the mixture in a dried banana leaf. Pour a little water inside the bundle, leave it for a little while so that the water will take up the 'smell' of the leaves. Then squeeze the water out into a coco-nut shell and give it to the child to drink.

Then unfasten the bundle, take out the leaves, and rub the child's body with them, pulling out all its extremities, legs, toes, arms, fingers, each separately. Then put the leaves back into a bundle, tie it up very strongly with the outside skin of the stem of *asam* (the strongest fastening these people have, used also to tie together the planks of a canoe), and put the bundle carefully away in a safe place in the hut. Here it must remain till the child is grown up. If a rat eats it, another bundle must be prepared in the same way.

Medicines to make the child grow strong and big are chosen according to the size of the child. Most of the plants thus used have not been identified.

789 All of the foregoing may be used for any child, be it *tsunaun* or
565 commoner. The infancy of a child who is *tsunaun* is further safe-
852 guarded by a series of ceremonies which are either omitted, or
856 performed with far less elaborate detail for a commoner. The fear
of 'poison' and harmful magic is never absent from the thoughts of
the near relatives of a child of rank, and every step of its way is
surrounded by infinite precautions.

CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE INFANCY OF A CHILD

TSUNAUN

852 As the children who were born during my residence were all
565 commoners, my knowledge of most of these ceremonies is
limited to what I could learn from various informants. Some
of the later ones I was fortunately able to witness. They are

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here described as nearly as I could ascertain in the order in which they would be performed. 565 ●

1. *At birth.*

While a woman *tsunaun* is in labour, every one in the village abstains from food. As soon as the child is born, the slit-gong is beaten, and a feast is held, with food provided by the child's relatives. Any one connected with the child, both on its mother's and its father's side, will contribute food, and the more food provided the greater is the prestige. The food is distributed among the people of the village, and there is a *kōma* that night. For the birth of a commoner there is no general fasting, no slit-gong, no feast, and no *kōma*.

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2622. *At first washing.*

All the people of the village, both men and women, must abstain from eating pig and fish till the child is washed on the fifth day. Then a pig is killed, and cooked in a pot, not roasted as is the general method of cooking pigs for feasts. All the women prepare large quantities of taro. A fire is made, small pieces of taro, pig, and fish are placed in the fire, and the *urar* of all the important people of the child's clan, not only those who died long since, but also those who have not long been dead, are called upon by name, with the adjuration:

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'*Komu tsura, nom en a tamū, a ta gū, a ta ien, sa*

Here is fire, you eat taro, pig, fish, so that

naban en sas ta ta ien to babēn ner, a ta gū mē.

the people (may) eat again fish forbidden, pig also.

The *urar* hear this; they come and eat what has been burned. This lifts the taboo on eating flesh foods for the people of the village and for the child's relatives, except its parents.

3. *In the early days.*

'While it is still a new baby', there is a ceremony involving those of its relatives who stand to the child in the relationship called *mat/it/sio*, in particular its mother's mother's brother's daughters. The men of the village go out on to the reef and catch a number of the tiny fish called *karios*. These are about the size of a large minnow, and are usually regarded as not worth catching, except by small children for fun. They are brought to the child's hut,

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852 where they are carefully wrapped up in leaves, one *karios* in each
 565 package. The women cook some taro and cut it into very small
 602 pieces. Little baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves are prepared,
 574 and are filled with these small pieces of taro. On the top of each
 basket is put a package containing *karios*, the relish. Each of the
 women who are *wat/si/sio* to the child then receives one of these
 baskets, and must eat the contents sitting on the *tagoan*, the front
 or men's verandah, if the child is a boy, on the *babots*, the back or
 women's verandah, if it is a girl. They may, if they wish, send
 some of the food to other women, who do not, however, partake
 of it in their company. But all the small children of the village,
 [417] who come crowding round, are given some *karios* and taro. Then
 a small enclosure is prepared, on the women's side of the huts, in
 any convenient vacant spot. It is made of small logs. They ex-
 plained that it was the same sort of enclosure as they make to keep
 wild pigs caught in preparation for a feast, which is made of logs
 piled up one on top of another. Into this enclosed space must be
 thrown all the taro peelings and other remains of the little feast,
 and the baskets in which taro and *karios* had been placed, which
 must first be torn to pieces. After this time the child's excreta
 [897] must be thrown into this enclosure, until it can walk. It is too
 dangerous to throw them away into the bush as is done with those
 of a commoner, since some ill-disposed person might find them
 and use them to the child's harm.

4. For first coming outside hut.

852 As was previously stated, in the case of persons who are *tsunaun*,
 565 mother and child must remain inside the hut for ten days after
 birth instead of the five prescribed for a commoner. On the ninth
 [417] day a palisade is erected round the hut, making a little enclosure.
 Next day the child is brought out, coming first into this enclosure.
 Then all the women of the village sit down with their legs touching
 (*asaran paror a gutan*, legs are fixed together), in the same position
 as is used in the marriage ceremony. The line of women stretches
 between the hut in which the child was born and the shore. Then
 a man, who may be one of the child's grandfathers, of either clan,
 or may be no relation, takes up the child and walks with it over the
 outstretched legs of the women to the beach. If there are not
 enough women in the village to reach so far, those at the back get
 up and go and sit down again in front of the line when the child

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has passed over them. The child is not taken into the water, but held at the brink, while all the men and women of the village enter the sea and play together, the women seizing the men and letting go again, throwing sand and water at one another's heads. 'They play because the child is *tsunaun*.' Then the child is carried back to the hut and all the people return to the village.

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After that, the child and also its mother and grandmother are decorated with aromatic and flowering plants, and the mother carries her baby round the village, calling at various houses, to show them the child. Mother and child then return to their own hut, and all the women gather at the *babots*, where they are all given taro and fish, but no pig.

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5. For first touching the ground.

During the early part of its life a child who is *tsunaun* must never be allowed to touch the ground, but must always be carried or nursed. 'A long time' after the ceremony just described, a further ceremony is carried out, to remove this taboo.

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When the time has been settled, all the huts in the village are told about it, and all the women make ceremonial pudding (usually the work of men), and roll it up into very small balls, and cook it in one of the special-shaped pots called *kepa* (Pl. 61a, No. 3). They make a basket out of three fronds of the coco-nut palm leaf, and fill the basket with the little balls of pudding. Then they go into the bush and search for certain small plants, *katsin* and *sekwit*, aromatic plants with very small leaves. They rub the leaves in their hands, to bring out the aromatic qualities, and tie some on to the wrists of the child, and of one of the women who stand to the child in the relationship of *wat/itfio*. The child has more leaves fastened to his ankles, and some are hung round his neck. These ornaments must be worn for the rest of that day.

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The next day all the women of the village collect clean sand, and spread it on the ground in front of the hut where the child lives, i.e. at the *tagoan*. First of all they spread a layer of coco-nut palm leaves on the ground, on the top of these they lay a woman's hood, and then spread the sand on the top of the hood. Fresh *sekwit* leaves are then fastened to the child's wrist, and he is put down to sit on the sand, and plays with it. Then everybody eats some of the small balls of ceremonial pudding. The basket in which it was passed round must not be thrown away. A woman

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852 commoner picks it up and stores it away carefully in the rafters of
 565 her hut, where it remains indefinitely. The women all play with
 574 the remaining balls of ceremonial pudding, throwing them at each
 other; when they are tired of this they eat up the remains of the
 taro.

After this the child may be put down to sit or play on the ground
 at any time. He continues to wear the *sekwit* leaves for a few days.

852 When the child's parents think it is time to take off the *sekwit*
 565 leaves, they make more ceremonial pudding, and invite the women
 782 of the village again. A fire is made, and some of the pudding is
 burnt on it, while the *urar* are called upon to come and eat; but
 not this time individually by name.

'Urar, komu tsura, nom en a tamū, mom sek rik nom
 Spirits, here is fire you eat taro, we want loosen
 (exclusive form)

u *sekwit* kurin a bai'i, bai'i to tsuga non ia.'
 the plant (from) hand of child, child dislikes it.

Then powdered lime is spread round the fire in a circle, the
 women dab some on their ears, then they take the *sekwit* leaves off
 the child and throw them away into the enclosure made on the
 occasion of a previous ceremony.

6. On returning from the first journey.

852 This I saw done at Petats; it happens also in the Bougainville
 565 villages, so I have included it in the series. In the Petats dialect it
 is called *lolōas*, in the Kurtatchi dialect *wakōhoa*. It is also per-
 formed for adults after a particularly difficult trip, and for impor-
 tant visitors who come from a distance, but for children only on
 this one occasion.

[115] On the evening of the day when Tiusiai had taken her baby son,
 Kaup, with her to fish on the reef for the first time, she sat on her
 verandah with Kari, her husband's mother's sister (*haihis*), and
 Bohin, her husband's mother's sister's son's wife (*munihan*.) Her
 own people live on another island. Some of the younger women
 of the village brought large bush-taro leaves and twisted them up
 into bags which would hold water. Then they went into the sea
 and filled them with sea-water, and running at full speed through
 the village, poured the water over the legs of the three women.
 None was poured over the legs of the child. This they did twice.
 The leaves were then hung up on the sides of the hut, where they

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remained till after the evening meal, then they were taken down and thrown away.

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7. *For sitting on his mother's pack.*

Commoner children are put, while still fairly small, to ride on the top of their mother's pack—the burden of taro or firewood which is always carried rucksack fashion, by means of straps round the shoulders—without any introductory ritual. But before a child of rank can do this a special ceremony must be held. I saw it done at Kurtatchi, for Wantias, son of Pinari's sister's daughter, *tsunaun* in the direct line of succession. He was then somewhere about four years old.

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The proceedings started at sundown, by a number of women walking round in a wheel-like formation, the role usually played by men in an ordinary *kōma*, giving the while the monotonous four notes which always accompanies their dance (Pl. 17). *Pesē*, who stands to Wantias in the relationship of *wat/sit/sio*, carried a new pack, consisting of a new sling of banana palm fibre, smeared with red paint, and ornamented with shell rattles and pearl buttons obtained from a store, tied round a large new *kōbū*, rolled up empty. The pack thus prepared is called *tin*, and is like that usually carried to the taro gardens to bring back the load. *Pesē* walked in the centre of the group. Presently a little girl (a commoner a little older than Wantias, not related to him) was placed on the top of the pack, sitting just as Wantias will sit in future. The women continued to parade round and round. One woman carried a bow and arrows, another an axe, another a canoe paddle. They might also have had a fishing-net. These are all objects symbolic of a man's activities. If the ceremony had been for a girl they would have had packs instead of the bow and arrows and the axe, but the canoe paddle would have figured just the same, as women are also expert paddlers. They walked round going through the motions of using these things. Other women jumped about, gesticulating wildly. I was told that the two women who knew this dance the best were both ill, so it was not being done as well as it might have been. Presently Takok, who is not related to Wantias, took the pack and carried *Pesē* on it for some time. *Pesē* is a big woman, so it must have been quite a task for Takok, who is by no means young.

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This continued for a couple of hours or so, with the slit-gong beating at short intervals, the signal for renewed efforts both of

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854 voice and leg, whenever it sounded. Wanas was not present, it
 [77] would have been considered very unlucky if he had accidentally
 852 put in an appearance. Apparently this performance is somewhat
 535 in the nature of a rehearsal.

852 All the next day the whole of the male population of the village
 565 was employed in making ceremonial pudding (see Pl. 33). Some
 of the men varied their labours by making Pan-pipes, and the
 women were making baskets of plaited coco-nut palm leaves to
 hold the pudding. These they made smaller than usual, because
 they were for a child. When the pudding-making was finished the
 slit-gong was sounded.

[292] Just before sundown two specially large taro tubers, with leaves
 and stalk still attached, were laid on the front verandah (*tagoan*) of
 Wanas's maternal grandmother's hut, where he and his mother
 live (his father is dead). On these was laid a very elaborately
 worked woman's hood, covered with an embroidered pattern made
 of strips of fibre and dried leaves, dyed red and brown, the kind
 of hood women wear on special occasions. On top of this was
 placed a sucking pig, held down by one of the older men of the
 village. Pinari, Wanas's mother's mother's brother, whom he calls
tsubunē (my grandfather), took some lengths of shell currency
 (*beroan*) and rubbed the pig's sides with it, beginning at the tail.
 [386] Then he took a large pinna shell full of red paint (*oin*) mixed with
 coco-nut oil, and rubbed the pig in the same way with that, then
 with the specially prepared pack, and then with a red loin-cloth.
 When all these things, which were to come in contact with Wanas
 in the course of the ceremony, had been passed from head to tail
 of the pig, it was allowed to run away. Then a number of the
 women, of both clans, came up in turn, and each sat on the hood
 for a minute. Two of the women who were *watʃʃio* to Wanas
 came first, but others followed who bore no relationship to him.

852 A little girl, younger than Wanas, not related, but of the same clan,
 565 was held down on the hood while her hair was carefully trimmed
 302 by Koawu, one of the older men (it does not seem to matter who
 undertakes this duty). He trimmed it all round, particularly just
 over the temples and behind the ears, making a clean line. The
 way having been thus prepared, Rus, Wanas's mother, brought
 the little boy out of the hut and sat down on the hood with him on
 her lap. Koawu began to trim his hair in the same way. He was
 not at all pleased with the process, and wriggled so much that it

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became impossible to continue cutting. He was taken off the hood round to the women's side of the hut, and the hair-dressing operations were finished by two young men, to the accompaniment of his screams. The cutting was done with a razor, of which there are a few in the village. In the olden days they would have used a black-lip oyster shell. When the trimming had been completed to the barbers' satisfaction, Rus took Wanas back to the front verandah and sat down again on the hood, while she covered his head with red paint, except for two dabs of black one on each side just above his ears, he very restless the while. A dab of brighter red was put on his ears, and a streak from the external angle of his eyes sloping down towards the ears.

All this time there were great hair-dressing operations going on all over the village. All the young children, of both sexes, and some of the older girls had their hair trimmed and covered with red paint mixed with coco-nut oil. (The older boys, who wore the *upi*, had no share in this part of the proceedings.) A number of women from neighbouring villages arrived, and were also painted.

Then there was an interval, during which some taro was eaten. Then the women began to congregate in the open space in the centre of the village. Counting visitors, there were perhaps some fifty or more women present. All wore their hoods, except the smallest of the girls, and one or two women who had renounced the custom and did not possess hoods—these wore white loin-cloths over their heads. They started marching round in wheel formation as they had done the previous evening, one carrying the new pack, others bows and arrows, axes, and paddles, as before. After some time there was another interval, at the end of which all the men and boys came up and took over the wheel formation, blowing their Pan-pipes and playing *mabu*, of which there were two. The women returned to their usual role of dancing outside the circle in twos and threes, up to the men and away again, singing and making a hissing noise. They all wore aromatic plants tucked into their loin-cloths and into their hair. They gave me some to put in my belt, and begged me to join in the dancing, which I did, following the example of the other women. Some of the men were springing about in imitation of the movements made by a band of armed warriors attacking a village by stealth. This was apparently symbolic, as it is not a regular feature of their dances. They did not go on very late on this occasion.

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852 The next day was entirely uneventful. Wanias played about as
815 usual, and there was no dancing or any other ritual.

On the following day there was great activity in preparation for the evening's events. Four pigs were killed in the early morning, and cooked in the usual manner. One had been killed some days before, and partly smoked, and another was cooked at a house some distance from the village, making six in all, each worth, to the natives, the equivalent of anything from £5 to £10 in our money, this indicating that the occasion was one of considerable importance.

452 Just before sundown Waniias was arrayed in several lengths of shell currency, which were wound round and round his waist.

565 The ornamented hood was again laid over the two large taro plants,
436 which now had black and red stripes painted on them. Behind,
hanging from the roof of the hut, were two lengths of the most
highly prized kind of ceremonial currency (*imam*), one made of the

[523] highly prized kind of ceremonial currency (*manu*), the hide of the teeth of the flying fox, the other of porpoise teeth. This latter string was an heirloom of great value. To it was fastened a tooth of Pinari's (Wanias's mother's mother's brother) which had recently fallen out; a toe from the foot of Kakari (Wanias's mother's brother) which fell off a short time before as the result of a bad septic sore; and the little finger of a famous enemy.¹ Wanias was seated on the hood with these relics behind him. His hair was newly painted, red all over except for two dabs of black, one over each ear. All the other small children of the village were painted in the same manner.

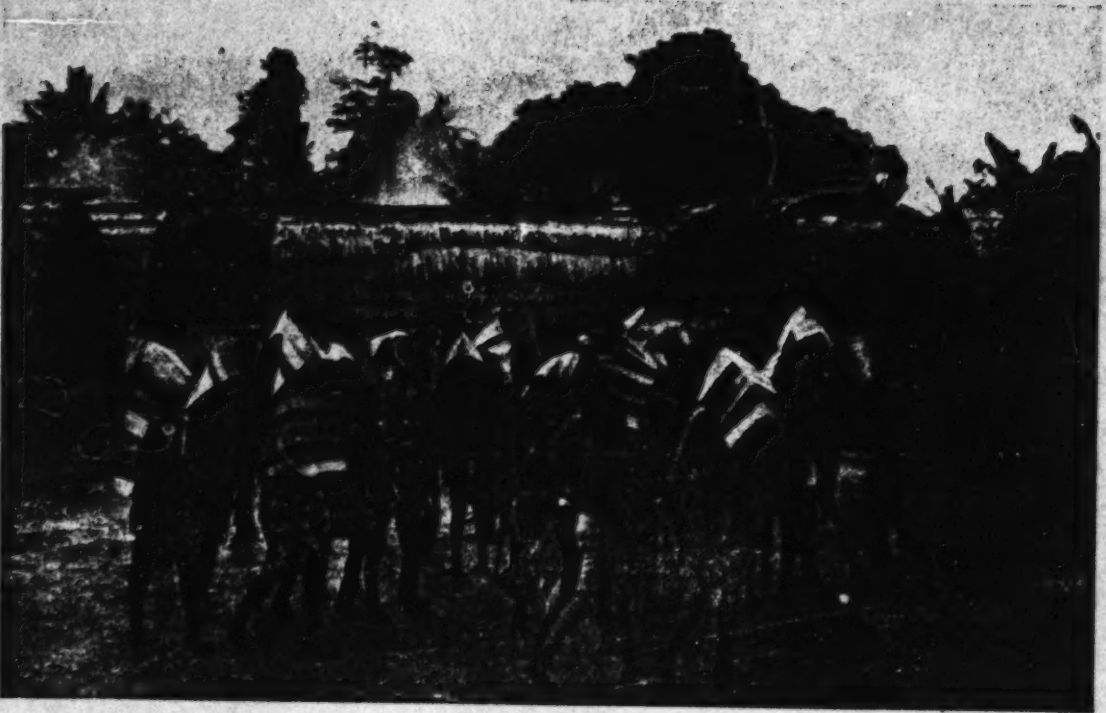
852 The women began walking round as before, with the usual yells
565 (*waki*). Presently *Pesē* hoisted *Wanias* on to the ceremonial pack
602 which she carried, and went round with him seated on it. This is
noteworthy, because, since she stands to him in the relation of
watʃitʃio, in the ordinary way no physical contact is permitted
between them. All his maternal relatives then started a ceremonial
wailing, as for the dead. *Matēv*, his maternal grandmother, and her

[726] The story of this little finger is as follows: Sapia, a warrior of the Hahon
[727] people who live in the hills, killed Bururuk, a *tsuwam* of the coast, cut off his
[266] finger and his mouth and took them back to the hills with him. The coast people
killed Sapia in the bush. Mawon, a relative of Sapia, avenged him by killing
some of the coast people. Ten men from coastal villages went and lay in wait
for Mawon, who was eventually killed by Na'uston, Pinari's *tsu* (mother's
brother). Mawon was eaten, but Na'uston kept his little finger, in revenge for
the similar insult to Bururuk, Na'uston's *kio* ("brother"), and this is the relic
that now hangs on the string of ceremonial currency.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Bulka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 17



WOMEN'S DANCE FOR WANIAS

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[Facing p. 192]

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brother and sister, wailed loudest and most earnestly. Subsequent inquiry elicited the explanation that they were wailing because they were sorry for Wantias, who, being a *tsunaun*, and as such an object of envy, will probably fall a victim to 'poison' prepared by some one who is jealous of him. 852
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The women walked round for some time, Pesē still carrying Wantias on the pack. Some were wailing the death wail, some were howling, and some yelling, as for a dance, with the slit-gong adding to the general din. Wantias was frightened, as well he might be, and began to cry. After a time his mother took him away to the women's side of the village and quieted him at the breast. Then all the women received baskets containing pig and ceremonial pudding, which they carried off with them to their own huts. The visitors from other villages departed laden with food and arecanuts. Later there was a *kōma* which went on till well after sunrise. 852
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The next day Wantias was taken to the taro garden sitting on his mother's pack in the usual manner of children. He continued to wear the strings of *beroan* round his waist for some time. 852
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This brings the little *tsunaun* to the point where he ceases to be a baby. His further fortunes will be followed in the next chapter.

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It was always made clear that the taboo on knowing about these things did not apply to me, as a white woman, but only to the women of their own people, so I have no reason to think that anything was purposely concealed. 881

A boy usually goes through the *wapi* ceremony at the age of about eight or nine, judging from the size of the younger of those wearing it (Pl. 20 a). But if there is a shortage of food and no ceremony is being held, or if his family are unable to take their share in providing the necessary payments, both in ceremonial currency and in food, his participation may be delayed until he is a good deal older. Some children undergo it still younger, but if, on being sent to the bush for the seclusion preceding the ceremony, they cry for their mothers, they are sent back to wait for a subsequent occasion. One small boy at Kurtatchi who had been thus sent home was only about seven at the time of my visit, though the *wapi* had been held some time back. The *upi* which had been prepared for him was hidden in the bush, where it still remained when the account was given to me. As a rule, every boy from those about nine up to those almost arrived at young manhood (Pl. 20-b) will be found wearing the hat. The decision as to whether a boy shall put on the hat at a forthcoming *wapi* ceremony rests with the boy's father, and depends partly upon whether he possesses the necessary length of ceremonial currency (*imun*) which he must pay to one of the old men of *tsunaun* rank to make the boy an *upi*. This man must not be a member of the boy's lineage. [436]

The *wapi* ceremony is preceded by a period of seclusion in the depths of the bush. The day upon which the boys must go to the bush is fixed at the discretion of the *tsunaun tsan*, that is, the leading man of rank in the group of villages concerned, who will arrange it when a suitable number of candidates is available. The time spent in seclusion is called *monilbe*. It used to last for a year, as far as I could ascertain, but of late has been cut down to about three months, owing, they say, to the fact that the District Officer does not like the boys to be absent when he comes round to inspect the village, to line the people up for payment of head-tax, and so on. One of the District Officers told me that he was sometimes asked to give permission for the boys to be absent from such a roll-call for three months, and to ask any other officers who might be visiting the village not to require their presence; this he was willing to do. [565] ●

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881 Before he goes into the bush, each novice is put under the care
 • [565] of an older man who is called his *amro*. The *amro* are all appointed
 by the *tsunaun*. Any adult man is eligible for this office. He is
 supposed to belong to a clan different from that of the novice, but
 this rule is not strictly adhered to, for in the list I obtained of
 novices and their *amro* belonging to the village of Kurtatchi,
 several pairs were of the same clan. One informant said that a
 boy might have his brother for his *amro*, in which case the rule
 obviously could not apply. Under such circumstances no payment
 [465] is made to the *amro*, but if he be not a brother, the novice's parents
 must provide his *amro* with a string of *imun* and his food during
 the period of seclusion. If there are only a few novices, each has
 an *amro* to himself, but if there are a great many, one man may
 be *amro* to two, three, or four boys.

The *amro* looks after the boy during his seclusion in the bush,
 remaining constantly with him, seeing that he keeps the rules,
 that he has food, &c. He also puts paint on the boy's hair and oils
 his skin. His duties are not confined to the period of seclusion. As
 long as the boy wears the *upi*, it is the business of the *amro* to put
 paint on his hair for a dance, and to keep an eye on him generally.
 Any one who is acting as *amro* must not go away for any length of
 time from the village where the novice lives. Pirier, one of the
 young men at Kurtatchi, who stood in that position in regard to
 two of the boys, went off to work on a plantation, but Pinari, the
tsunaun, sent for him back. After the *watawut* has taken place
 this rule is less strictly adhered to.

A man who has acted as *amro* but whose charge has finished all
 the ceremonies and taken off the *upi* is called *kwigin*, and to these
 men also special duties are assigned while the novices are in the
 bush; in particular, they act as messengers between the place of
 seclusion and the village, bringing food to the boys and their *amro*,
 who may not come into the village.

The novices are called *matfian*. At first they do not sleep in the
 bush, but spend the day there, going off at dawn, and returning to
 the village after dark. They cannot, however, go back to their
 mother's hut; they must sleep in the *tobar* belonging to their re-
 spective clans. While they are in the *tobar*, they must not talk above
 a whisper; it would be a very bad thing for the women to hear their
 voices. This time is called *pinpin*. It lasts for several days.

When the *pinpin* period is over, the boys remain in the bush

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altogether. The men of the village set up two posts in front of the *tobar*, and fix poles horizontally between them. Food, chiefly consisting of coco-nuts, is then hung over these bars. The novices come up with their *amro*, and walk round the poles as at a *kōma*. This is done in the afternoon. The mothers of the boys then look at their sons for the last time before they put on the *upi* and are removed from home care. There is much display of grief, which is probably not only ritual but real, for the putting on of the *upi* makes a break in the family circle. After a few turns round the poles the boys go into the *tobar*. The one who is second in order of importance goes first, and the highest in rank second. The one of most importance is the novice belonging to the *tsunaun* lineage who stands nearest to the succession to the headship. At Kurtatchi it was Wakuis, Pinari's sister's son, a younger brother of the heir, Kakari. The second was Sankuro, whose descent is given on p. 77. The line of novices and *amro* pass straight through the *tobar*, and come out at the door on its other side. The *amro* take their charges down to a special place on the beach, where the boys are made to drink a mouthful of sea-water. This part of the beach is reserved for them to bathe from, and the women must keep away from it. [565] •

After this they remain all the time in the bush, no longer returning to the village at night. Their going away is called *watagi'upi* (*watagio* = get out of the way). They make a little house at a special place set apart for them, and there they must sleep for the whole of their period of seclusion. This place and the shelter built on it is called *nōnō*, and is strictly taboo to all but the novices and their *amro*, who sleep with them on the same plank bed. The shelter is a very rough construction, and is allowed to fall to pieces when they have finished with it. [784]

Rules for the novices.

No instruction on tribal lore or on sexual matters appears to be given to the novices during their seclusion, but the *amro* tell them how they are expected to behave in regard to the wearing of the *api*, that they must never be seen without it by a woman, that they must fasten it tightly on their heads when they play roughly, that they must make a new cover for it out of *win* leaves when it gets dirty, and so on. 881

All the time the novices stop in the *nōnō* before the *wapi*

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must keep out of sight. In the olden days, if a woman were to meet one of the *amro* carrying food to the novices, she would instantly have been speared. Now that killing is forbidden, the punishment is that all the *amro* and all the *kwigin* have sexual intercourse with her in the bush. Sometimes she dies under this treatment. In any case her husband has no right to be angry or to retaliate. An occurrence such as this is the only occasion when the *amro* are allowed sexual intercourse while the novices are in the bush. Continence is necessary for them because they have to put paint on the hair of the novices, and oil on their skins. It would be harmful to the boys if any one who had had contact with a woman were to touch them. The *kwigin*, who sleep in the village, must never touch the skin of the novices. The *kwigin* are not denied intercourse, but it must take place in the hut, not at the taro garden (a very usual practice at ordinary times). Should one of them break this rule, the taro belonging to the woman who owns the garden must be thrown away, and she is forbidden to cook any more food for the novices. 881 [688]

Before giving the food to the novices, the *amro* must scrape off the outside of each taro, where the women's hands have touched it. This they keep for themselves, giving the boys the centre part. Only a small quantity of food is allowed. The *tsunaun* novices must eat first, commoners are not permitted to take so much as a bite till they have finished. If this rule is broken the *amro* must tell the *kwigin*, and the *kwigin* tell the women not to cook any taro for the boys next day, and for the whole day they must go hungry. The taro belonging to the *tsunaun* is kept in a separate basket hung from the roof of the hut, and if this should fall down by accident, the boys must go without their next meal. 881 565

Deprivation of food is also the penalty for fighting among the novices. For this offence all the boys must fast for two or three days, the time apparently varying according to the severity of the fight. The *amro* and the *kwigin* may not eat either, nor may those of the women who have sons among the novices. The people of the village must abstain from fighting or quarrelling among themselves; if this rule is broken the offenders must kill a pig and make a feast for the rest of the people. 881 [688]

Sometimes a woman will give some extra food to the *kwigin* and say: 'You go and give this piece of taro to my son.' If this becomes known, the *tsunaun* of the village will send word to some one who 881 688 754

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to his waist, was pulled out and escorted down the hill where the *war* had appeared to the women. He was to be shown to them as a sign that their sons, whom they believed to be eaten by the *war*, were alive and well. He was away a long time; meanwhile the novices remained in line, standing as still as they could. Finally he came back laughing, and stood for a while chatting with a group of men beside the line, afterwards taking his place again at the head of it.

Then a procession of older men, some of them quite elderly, came up the slope. Each of them had an *upi* on his head. These were the fathers or brothers of the novices, wearing the new *upi* especially prepared for the boys. They managed their unaccustomed head-gear awkwardly, and looked self-conscious. One let his *upi* fall to the ground; this was greeted with laughter and shouting, and was evidently regarded as a great joke. They stood together in close formation, stamping their feet in rhythm and shouting. Then they walked several times round the line of novices. Two of them carried *upi* of enormous size, with very elaborate patterns on them, coloured red and white. These were laid for a second on the head of each novice in turn, one man going up the line and one down, so that each boy had both *upi* put on his head. I learned subsequently that these were the *upi* worn by the *war* figures. They are the sign of the *wagi'upi*, i.e. the novices of *tsunaum* lineage. But they are put on to the heads of all the boys in turn because all—*tsunaum* and commoners—are going through the *wapi* ceremony together.

After this the boys' own *upi* were put on. Everybody crowded round to help to fasten them. Some had to be fixed with the aid of sticks and bits of rag, as the hair was not long enough to keep them in place. When all were fitted, the line broke up in confusion. The ceremonial *upi* were carried up the hill to the shed where the *war* figures were. The newly invested novices, henceforward themselves known as *upi*, strutted about, evidently feeling very important, and, judging by their furtive lifting of hands to steady the clumsy head-gear, more than a little uncomfortable.

By this time the sun was getting low, and as most of the visitors had a long way to walk home, the gathering soon dispersed. The initiates went back to the bush, where they were to remain till they had learned how to keep the *upi* in place, after which, on the performance of another ceremony (to be subsequently described), they would return to their own villages.

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pigments. The *amro* of the *wagi'upi* (i.e. those of the novices who are *tsunaun* and therefore leaders of the group) take up their charges on their shoulders, the others walk. They return to the village, where everybody gathers to receive them. As they come up, all the people dance, the men doing the ordinary *kōma* and blowing the Pan-pipes, while the women, decorated with girdles of aromatic plants, form a line, and as the boys come towards them, do the special form of song and dance called *dāni*. Arrived at the centre of the village, the *wagi'upi* get down from the shoulders of their *amro*, and all the novices partake of taro and water, given to them by their *amro*. The women are not allowed to give them food as yet. This ceremonial return of the novices is called *wawats'upi*. 881
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The novices then go down to the shore, if it is a coast village, and stand in line close to the edge of the sea. All women, not only the *tsina'upi*, pour sea-water over the boys' legs; this removes the prohibition under which they have been since the *wapi* ceremony, forbidding them to go into the sea. The women all rejoice because the boys have come back. The mothers pretend not to know their sons; they say: 'Before, he was a little fellow; we think this is another boy.' The boys may now remain in the village. They cannot under any circumstances return to the *nōnō*, and must avoid that part of the bush in which it is situated until it has fallen to pieces. They sleep in the *tobar* (boys' house) belonging to their own clan, and are from this time forward subject to all the rules and restrictions attendant upon the wearing of the *upi*, which will be discussed in the following pages.

For a few days the *amro* also sleep in the *tobar*. They may not enter their own huts or have intercourse with their wives until the *Awigin* have taken bamboo-lengths full of water and poured it out in front of all the huts belonging to the *amro*. After that the *amro* resume their normal life. If an *amro* has intercourse with his wife during the prohibited period, the *urar* will cause illness to come upon the woman, and should a child be born of such intercourse, it will resemble the figures of *urar* that are made for the *wapi* ceremony, that is, it will be without legs, and will have two heads, one growing out of the top of the other; this refers to the head of the *urar* appearing above the head of the man on whose shoulders it is being carried, who looks out of a peep-hole in the body of the figure. It is said that this taboo is so strong that no *amro* would dare to break it. 881
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PREPARATIONS FOR THE WATAWUTJ

88| The *watawutj* is considered by far the most important of the three ceremonies connected with the *upi*. It is looked forward to with great eagerness by everybody. In contrast to the *wapi*, it is held in the village, not in the bush, and there is no taboo on the presence of the women, which is, indeed, essential to its success. All the boys who went through the *wapi* ceremony together must attend the same *watawutj*. Not to be able to do so is considered a very great misfortune.

88| Several months before the ceremony, the *tsunaun* of the village
 565 in which it is to be held sends messengers to all the other villages
 824 in the group, carrying a number of strips of bamboo about 6 inches
 202 long, and a bunch of *win* leaves split into thin strands. A strip of bamboo is left with the *tsunaun* of each village, and one of the *win* strands at each house where there is in the family a boy wearing the *upi*. This is a sign that they must set aside a pig for the *watawutj* ceremony. Large areas of bush are cleared and planted with taro, which is also reserved for the *watawutj*. The women plant and tend this just as they do taro intended for everyday consumption.

88| When the time for the ceremony approaches, preparations are begun for building the 'long house' (*tobar tʃan*) for the novices.
 346 The *tsunaun* of the village in which the ceremony is to be held details certain portions of the structure to be provided by the
 62| various villages of the group. Special importance is attached to
 313 the *pa'i*, the horizontal ridge-poles supporting the roof. These
 824 must run the full length of the house, and it is no easy matter to find and bring in poles (consisting of the aerial roots of the banyan) of the required length. Those for the *tobar tʃan* at Kurtatchi, which were brought in while I was there, were provided by the village of Tabut. A length of fibre string had previously been sent
 [80|] from Kurtatchi as an indication of the length required. They measured 65 ft. 8 in.¹ They are brought through the bush by the
 88| *upi* boys themselves, assisted by the older men, both *amro* and *kwigin*. All the women must keep out of the way while this is being
 313 done. Marotē had promised to accompany me on a visit to Ruri
 824 on the day when the *pa'i* were brought, but when she heard this was

¹ For the ordinary dwelling-house the *pa'i* would measure not more than about 40 feet.

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day the women must leave the village at sunrise, and go to the bush or to the shore. They cannot stop in the village while the work is actually in progress, but they may come back at sunset, when the men have ceased working on the hats for the day, and may sleep in their own huts. The *amro* and the *kwigin* attend at the *tobar*; it is their province to make the hats, the duty of the Hahon people being merely to cut the patterns from the red leaves. These village men are allowed to go to their own huts to sleep, and they are not forbidden sexual intercourse with their wives during this period. The *upi* boys, who would normally be sleeping in the *tobar*, must avoid those in which the work is being done, and find themselves quarters elsewhere. The *tsuamun* of the village sit in the *tobar* while the work is in progress, but take no part in it. No word must be spoken in the *tobar* while the patterns are being cut out. All the time it is essential that the workers should be well fed, and word is sent to the other villages of the group to bring in pig-meat for the men who are making the hats. The *upi* boys collect large quantities of areca-nut and betel-pepper and coco-nuts for them. The work goes on for several days, until each boy in the group is provided with his special hat. When all are finished, the slit-gong is beaten to let every one know that the making of the hats is over.

A story in my collection, related to me independently of any discussion of the ceremony, is here given as it illustrates the state of tension that prevails in the village at this time:

The people were busy making the hats for the *watacutf*. Ten men were cutting the patterns for ten hats. A woman went to cut firewood; she came back, and threw her load of firewood on to the ground. All the men in the *tobar* jumped up angrily. They asked: 'Who is that there?' They said to one man: 'You go and see who it is making a noise with a bundle of firewood.' The man went and saw the woman, she had thrown down her load of firewood. The man saw her. He went back into the *tobar* and said: 'It is a woman, she is throwing down a load of firewood.' The men all got up, they were very angry, they broke the patterns they were cutting. A *tsuamun* said: 'Go and seize her.' Two men went out and seized her; they pushed her into the *tobar*. They asked her: 'Don't you know this thing is very sacred? You defecate into my hands.' (This was explained to me as meaning: 'You don't know much.') Then all the men had connexion with the woman in the *tobar*. When they had all had connexion with her once, they killed her, and cooked her in a pot in the *tobar* and ate her. Then they cut patterns for the hats a second time, they cut ten. When night came, they lit torches;

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Each boy carries in his right hand a carved lime-pot,¹ hanging by a string. At this stage in the proceedings the pots must be empty of lime. They are filled by the *kwigin*, in the *tobar*, after the close of the ceremony. The right hand also holds a bunch of the aromatic leaves called *tsutsuir*, which he has been forbidden to use since putting on the hat. In his left hand he holds two areca-nuts on a stalk, and in his mouth a catkin of the betel-pepper, which has also been denied him. These prohibitions are now at an end. [881] [415] [824]

The *amro* walk round in wheel formation, as at an ordinary *kōma*, with their charges on their shoulders. All the men join in it, but the women do not dance, they keep up a ritual wailing, just as they do for a death. When the men have been round once, the procession goes back inside the palisade. By this time it is getting light. The *amro* have a short time for rest, then they take the boys on their shoulders again, and the *kōma* is repeated for another two rounds. Then the boys are carried to the front of the long house, and are offered water by their *amro*, which they must only pretend to drink, and taro, which they must only pretend to eat. After this, which again is said to be a safeguard against their being 'poisoned', they go into the long house and are given pig, taro, and ceremonial pudding to eat in reality. The visitors from other villages are provided with supplies of areca-nut and go back to their own homes. [535]

Later in the morning, all the initiates, still wearing their new hats with the red patterns, make a round of the village and go inside the huts of the married people, which they have not been able to do since they first put on the *upi*. Then they come back to the long house, go inside the palisade, take off the decorated hats and put on plain ones. The decorated ones are kept in the permanent *tobar*, and are put on for special occasions. Boys who are *tsuam* may, if they wish, wear decorated hats all the time, but must keep them covered with an outer layer of leaves. The outer covers are made for them by their *amro*, who do not receive payment for this service. Fig. 9 is a boy's drawing of a *kōma* connected with the *watancuf*, at which the boys are wearing the decorated *upi*. [292] [565] [465]

The long house, the palisade, the *ravor* trees, the wooden figures,

¹ For description of these lime-pots see p. 432 and Pl. 72. One of those figured (on left in second row) has actually been used in a *watancuf* ceremony, but as a rule those that have been so used are very highly prized by their owners who are unwilling to part with them. Another had similar human figures, but placed vertically instead of horizontally.

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them, and women, though they do not carry them, may see them without hindrance.

THE WASIPSIP CEREMONY

The *wasipsip* is considered the least important ceremony of the three. If it is convenient for some of the boys to remove their hats at any particular time after the holding of the *watawuts*, a *wasipsip* may be arranged for the benefit of a few, or even of one boy alone, if there is any special reason for doing so. Thus, for example, a boy who wishes to go and work as an indentured labourer will sometimes persuade the elders to hold a *wasipsip* for his benefit. But in the ordinary way, the boys who go through the other two ceremonies together also join for the third.

The boys must first spend a few days, perhaps ten, in the bush. This seclusion is called *wawilbe*, the same word as is applied to the seclusion before the *wapi*. They stay in the bush until noon on the day fixed for the ceremony. During this time they must not be seen by the women. Food is brought to them by the *kwigin*. At noon they come to the village and go inside a palisade enclosing a little *tobar*, specially made, just big enough to accommodate the number of initiates involved. The inside of this *tobar* is decorated with leaves, and strings of shell money. They remain there for the remainder of that day, and sleep there that night. At dawn next day they get up, and their hair is cut off by their *amro*, with a *kina* shell (a variety of *Cyrena*, having a very sharp edge). The hair is cut quite short, and is trimmed close to the head at the back and perpendicularly at the sides. The *amro* then paint the heads of the novices with the special pattern appropriate to the removal of the *wpi* (described on p. 224). All the people *kōma*, and *mabu* are blown. For the *wasipsip* it is considered enough if there are two *mabu* only.

The *amro* take their charges on their shoulders, just as they did in the *watawuts* ceremony. No lime-pots or areca-nut boughs are carried, and the faces of the initiates are not painted as in the former ceremony. A few figures of men, women, and birds are carried round in front of them; these must be made afresh for this occasion, those used at the *watawuts* having been burnt.

When they have been once round, the boys get down from the shoulders of the *amro*, and go to the chief *tsunaun*, who gives them water in coco-nut shells. This they must really drink, not pretend

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The present chapter is chiefly concerned to record the state of affairs at the time when the investigation was made, in a village where, as far as the adolescent girls were concerned, the original conditions still prevailed. 882

Of the adolescent girls at Kurtatchi, by far the most interesting was Nawi, whose first menstruation ceremony I attended, and shall presently describe. She was very friendly, and often begged me to come with her to the taro garden she helped her mother to keep in order, or to the reef to look for shell-fish. She was betrothed to a boy at Ruri, who still wore the *upi*, and though he had been through the *watawut* ceremony, she expected—and hoped—that it would be some time before his hair would be long enough for him to submit himself for the *wasipsip* ceremony at which the hair is cut and the hat finally removed. Until that had been done, Nawi had no need to think about her marriage. 159 882

Belonging to a family of *tsunaun*, she was a person of importance in the village—the original village of Kurtatchi, in which the *tsunaun* family were of the Naboin clan (their history has been given in Chap. II). Accordingly, certain customs had to be observed at various epochs in her life. The only one of these—other than the menstruation ritual—which occurred while I was at Kurtatchi, marked the stage at which she was permitted to go and collect from the bush the heavy spathes at the lower end of the leaf of the areca-palm. These, when dried, are used as receptacles for all kinds of purposes, and are mentioned continually in these pages by the native term *kōbū*. One day several of the women told me they were going out to collect a number of them in order to hold this ceremony for Nawi. They asked me to go with them. Nawi did not come. We went to a part of the bush about six miles off, where there were a number of wild areca-palms, and hunted in the underbush for fallen leaves from which to cut the spathes. One or two trees had been recently cut down, apparently on purpose. Part of the next day was spent in scraping clean the *kōbū* we brought back with us, and fixing sticks across them to keep them from curling up while drying. At dusk, the women all gathered in the centre of the village, where the *kōbū* were laid out. They held a *kōma*, taking up the wheel-like formation which in ordinary dances is the prerogative of the men. Nawi danced too, but took no outstanding part in the proceedings. Afterwards we all went to her mother's hut and ate ceremonial pudding. This took place six 159 882 565 824 [415] [535]

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months before the menstruation ceremony, with which it was not in any way connected.

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881 Owing to the impossibility of obtaining from these people any information whatever with regard to the passage of time, I cannot give the age at which girls begin to menstruate. To judge from their appearance, it would seem to vary considerably in different individuals. Nawi, with breasts not yet fully developed (see Pl. 31), had been expecting her first period for nine months or so before it actually occurred. Kiots, with little, if any, further advanced breast development, had been menstruating for more than a year. From the appearance of their breasts and pubic hair, I should estimate the ages of these girls to be somewhere about twelve or thirteen. Both had cut their second permanent molar teeth, the presence of which, among ourselves, is usually a sign that the twelfth birthday has been passed. Muben, looking decidedly older, with much fuller breasts, went through her first period about ten months earlier than Nawi, while I was told that Laia, whom I should have judged, from her looks, to be at least in her later teens, had started the flux at about the same time as Muben.

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565 Unlike the first puberty ceremony for boys, which depends, not on their physiological development, but on the number of boys whose parents desire it, and upon the condition of the food supply, the puberty rite for girls is held for each girl singly, and at the actual time of her first period. There is also another difference. While all the boys, whether *tsunaun* or commoners, must undergo the same series of ceremonies in exactly the same manner, the puberty ceremony for girls is held, in its entirety, only for girls who are *tsunaun*. A very much shortened form, with important parts of the ritual omitted, is performed for commoners.

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565 I will first give an account of the full ceremony for a *tsunaun*, as related to me by the women, chiefly by Pari, one of the most important women at Kurtatchi, and afterwards a description of the ceremony as I saw it performed for Nawi, who, though *tsunaun*, went through it in a modified form owing to special circumstances.

ACCOUNT OF GIRL'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS
GIVEN BY KURTATCHI WOMEN

881 When a girl finds that she is bleeding for the first time, she does not like it, she is afraid, she hides in the bush. She runs away from her mother, and does not tell her, but her mother guesses what has

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88| happened, and asks her: 'You are bleeding, aren't you?' The girl does not speak, she is afraid, but she nods her head. Her mother asks her: 'Did you see the blood when you got up this morning?' Then her mother tells the other women: 'The girl has broken.' All the women are glad. They call out, and jump about, and shout, and say: 'By-and-by we shall eat a big pig, and have a dance.' They are all glad about the girl, and as they go to work they talk about her, and are pleased.

[262] The girl's mother gives her a little taro, secretly, saying to her: 'You eat it up quickly and don't let any one see you do it.' After that she must go hungry, she must not eat any more. She is forbidden to eat taro, coco-nuts, bananas, pig, or fish, and she must not drink. All that she can have is a kind of areca-nut, which is not strong, and has water in it, so that it moistens her tongue. [824] (This is not the kind of areca-nut which is usually chewed, but a smaller variety, called *gagmorat*, *gag* = drink.)

88| Two children keep her company and go hungry along with her.
784 They must belong to her clan. Both must be too young to menstruate. The girl's mother, father, brothers and sisters (blood and 62| classificatory), and grandparents do not eat either. For a commoner 565 this is enough, but for a girl who is *tsunaun* all the village goes hungry. This fast goes on for about two days, until a certain part of the ceremony is over.

88| When the girl's mother goes to draw water in the evening, she must take all the water-coco-nuts (see p. 289) and hide them in another hut. If she does not want to do this, she must pour away all the water that is not used immediately. If she left any of it in [841] the hut, the girl might steal some and drink it, and that would be very bad for her, for then her blood would flow all the time and would not dry up. The two children who are keeping the girl company may drink a little secretly, without letting the girl see them, and they may eat a little taro also in the same way. After two days the girl may eat a little specially prepared taro, which her mother brings to her secretly, and may drink a very little water, enough to make her tongue cold.

[565] The girl and her two companions must stay inside the hut for five days and nights. If she is a commoner four will be enough. She must sit all the time doing nothing, and must not leave the hut at all except to relieve herself. When this is necessary she puts on a hood, and goes no farther than the back of the hut. One of the

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pudding and pieces of pig, and rub them on to their genitals, and then on one another's mouths, with the secretion from the vulva adhering to them. The women are obliged to eat these pieces. If any one refuses she is held down, her mouth forced open, and the food pushed into it. 881 831

When the women have had enough of this sexual play, the visiting women are all given quantities of food to take back with them. They then disperse to their own villages. The whole of this part of the ceremony, involving the banana palm, is performed only for persons of rank. 881 [565]

The three children, i.e. the girl for whom the ceremony is being performed, the one who acted as 'opossum girl', and her other companion, remain inside the hut for a few days more. The exact period was not specified; my informants said it did not matter very much. They may now eat taro which has been roasted in the embers or cooked in an oven, but not that which has been boiled in a pot. They may not eat the meat of a green coco-nut, but they may break open ripe ('dry') coco-nuts and cook them in the embers like taro, then scrape the meat off them; this they may eat. (In the ordinary way the meat of a coco-nut at this stage is not considered fit to eat.) If the girl who has been menstruating eats green coco-nuts or taro that has been boiled in water, she will have another period in a short time, and will lose too much blood. The same prohibition applies to taro leaves, which these people are accustomed to boil and eat as we eat spinach. These are liable to have the same effect, being cooked in water, but the leaves may be made into a package tied up with covering leaves, and roasted in the embers; in this form, since they are cooked dry, she is permitted to eat them. But she is absolutely forbidden to eat pig, fish, or opossum, which amounts to the prohibition of all flesh foods. 881 252 824 [341]

When a few days have passed, the girl's mother prepares a special pot of taro, called *pipiro*. One *roran* (six tubers) of each of several different kinds of taro is taken and boiled in a pot with certain aromatic leaves. Taro thus prepared is esteemed a great delicacy. The men go fishing, and bring in certain kinds of fish. The names of fourteen kinds of fish were given to me in this connexion. They were all rather small fish, so far as I could ascertain. No reason could be elicited for choosing these particular kinds. They are brought into the village; the girl's mother wraps them up in the large leaves of the bush banana, which are much used in 881 252

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Ruri, the next village to Kurtatchi, there was a girl of rank for whom this should have been done, but the proceedings were reduced to a short period of seclusion and the cooking of the *pipiro*. It would have been performed for Nawi at Kurtatchi, a much more conservative village than Ruri, had it not been that the village was engaged in preparations for the *watawut*f, this involving modification of the first menstruation rite, since it is strictly taboo to 'go up bananas' under these circumstances. The following account of what actually took place is transcribed from my diary.

FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS PERFORMED FOR NAWI

September 12, 1930. On my walk round the village this morning I found all the women greatly excited, because it has just been discovered that Nawi has started her first menstrual flux. This had been anticipated for several months, and the women had often told me that it was sure to happen soon. They had been very much looking forward to it, and are very disappointed that the banana-palm ceremony cannot be held because the time is approaching for the holding of the *watawut*f ceremony.

All the older women went into the bush and gathered quantities of cordyline leaves, which they must wear tucked into cane girdles at their waists during the ceremony. Nawi remained in her mother's hut. Her friend Kiots, with whom she generally goes about, is staying in the hut with her. Kiots experienced her first period some months ago, but the banana-palm ceremony was not held for her because she is a commoner. She is keeping Nawi company now out of friendship, not ceremonially. The two little girls who are her official companions are Talewu and Beawon. Talewu is the *mani*. Talewu is the daughter of Poa, Nawi's father, by another mother, who is sister to Nawi's mother (by the same father but a different mother). Nawi calls Talewu *kiar* (sib of the same sex). It follows that Talewu belongs to the same clan as Nawi, viz. Naboin. But Beawon, who is not related to Nawi (there is no relationship term used between them), belongs to the other clan, Nakarib. This is contrary to the information given me previously by Pari and other women, who said that the two little companions of the girl must belong to the same clan as herself. It would thus seem that in this, as in many other particulars, the rules are not strictly adhered to.

All the people of the village, men and women, members of both

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the mixture, the good properties of the leaves and roots, &c., are supposed to be carried into the liquid which runs into the *taraki* and the *kōbū*. This liquid is of a red colour, owing to the *owan* (impure iron oxide) which was plentifully sprinkled over the package before the coco-nut milk was poured through. It tastes bitter, probably because of the *owan*, since the liquid, being cold, could hardly act as an infusing agent during the short time it is in contact with the leaves and roots in the package, so as to acquire any properties from them. 881
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When sufficient liquid has been poured through, the package is fastened up again and placed in the rafters of the hut over the fire. Two immature coco-nuts (*kukuts*) are put beside it. It must dry well in the smoke. This is another precaution to 'harden the girl's belly' to prevent her from menstruating again too quickly. When the girl sleeps with her husband for the first time, her mother takes down the package and the coco-nuts, and slashes the two immature coco-nuts open; this represents the 'opening of the girl' in order that she may become pregnant. The package and the coco-nuts are then thrown away into the sea by the mother, who must take care that the current carries them away immediately. This removes their restraining influence over the girl's flow of blood, so that she will have plenty to make a child. If for any reason the girl's mother considers that it is not desirable for her daughter to have a child soon, the package and the coco-nuts are left in the rafters until such time as pregnancy is desired. 881
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The liquid which has been poured through the package into the *taraki* and the *kōbū* must be tasted by all present. The women drink from the *taraki* and the men from the *kōbū*. When every one has had a taste the rest of the liquid is put by in coco-nuts for those who are not present. A woman will save some for her husband, and a man for his wife and children. Little girls who are *tsunam* cannot drink; they must taste it for the first time when the ceremony is performed on their behalf. Little girls who are commoners get their share with the other people; none will be prepared for them when they begin to menstruate. The coco-nuts in which the mixture is carried to other huts must be carefully kept in the rafters of those huts, and thrown into the sea at the same time as the package of leaves and roots. The belts of coloured cane worn by the girl during the period are rolled up and encased in a covering of fibre, and placed with the other things in the rafters of her 881
272
[565] ●

DIET, COOKING, AND MEALS

279

away. The resulting parcel (measuring perhaps 4 or 5 ft. x 2 ft.) is called *met* ('dead'), and represents the body of a dead man. It is fixed on to a pole in the same way in which pigs are carried, and brought to the village, the men singing as they go. It is put down in front of the principal house; in Kurtatchi village this would be the hut occupied by Pinari's chief wife. Those who take part in bringing it in may not eat or drink or chew the betel-mixture from the time when they awake that morning.

Then they call for the *tsunaun* of the place (at Kurtatchi, Pinari and his two *wetnē*-, Pari and Matēv). The *tsunaun* must make fire by rubbing two sticks together, inside the hut, calling the while the names of all the *war*. They take some almonds out of the *met* and throw them into the fire, as soon as it is properly kindled. Then they take lime, and pass it round the fire, taking care not to spill any into the flames. They tap several times on the outside of the lime-pot. A few drops of water and the milk of a drinking coco-nut are scattered in a circle all round the fire. Then they take a taro and put it into the fire, calling on all the *war* who are in the fire to come and drink. Each *tsunaun* calls the names of the *war* of his own lineage. Then they break up some of the fruits of the betel-pepper and throw them into the fire. Then the *tsunaun* take some lime and put it on the ears of all the men who went to gather the almonds in the bush. After this these men can eat and drink and chew the betel-mixture for the first time that day.

Finally, the *tsunaun* break up the *met* and eat some of the almonds inside it. One of the women *tsunaun* (in this village it was Pari) fills a *hōbā* with nuts from the *met*, and takes it to the women, who eat on their side of the hut. When all, both men and women, have finished eating, the slit-gong is beaten. If, when all have eaten as much as they can, there are still some almonds left in the *met*, each person takes a share of them and carries them off to eat at home.

The boys wearing the *upi* are not allowed to take any part in this ceremony. They may not eat almonds at any time after they have put on the hat at the *wapi* ceremony, until a special bit of ritual has been gone through, which consists of their being given some nuts to eat in public, thus removing the taboo.

At the conclusion of the ceremony for the first almonds a game is played with tops made of coco-nut shell. The fibrous sheath of

224 side on the ground. A twist is given before withdrawing the spear, and if it has been done skilfully, death follows instantaneously; but if the pig grunts or squeals or struggles, the weapon is put in again, and sometimes two or three twists are given before the unfortunate animal ceases to breathe. Nowadays the spear is a length of iron rod; in the olden days a stick of hard wood sharpened to a point was used; these are still employed if no iron is at hand. I have also seen pigs killed by a knife thrust instead of the spear.

[410]
252 A large fire is made, with big logs, and as soon as the pig is dead—I wish I were certain that they always wait long enough—it is picked up, still on its pole, and held over the flames till all the hair is singed (Pl. 35). Two men hold the pole, one at each end, the others look on with interest. When the hair is thoroughly singed, the pig is laid on the ground, and several men set to work to scrape off the singed hair with knives and sharp shells until the skin is fairly clean. If there is any blood on the body from the wound, the pig is taken to the sea and washed before it is singed. A longitudinal cut is made in the belly from snout to tail, through which the entrails are removed. Stomach and intestines are carefully washed in the sea, cleaned by being scraped with bits of stick, and then cut up and put into a pot, together with the lungs, kidneys, liver, &c. Practically no portion of the pig is thrown away. The blood is dipped up out of the body with a coco-nut shell, and poured into the pot, which is then filled up with water and set on a fire to boil. It is skimmed at intervals with the mid-rib of a coco-nut palm leaf, sharpened to a point. Its contents do not form part of the ceremonial meal for which the rest of the animal is destined, neither would they be given to guests, but are eaten as an ordinary meal by the men who attend to the cooking, when they so desire.

● [565] The liver is regarded as a special delicacy, and usually falls to the lot of the *tsunam*. The pig is cut into thick sections transversely, the head forming the first portion. These 'joints' are cooked slightly by being placed on the fire for a few minutes till scorched on one side, then turned with the aid of poles and scorched on the other side. They are taken off the fire and laid on banana leaves spread for the purpose, either on the ground or on the verandah of a near-by hut, and are finally divided among the people concerned, who take them away and cut them into smaller pieces. These are wrapped up, with some taro, in packets covered with leaves, with which coco-nut-leaf baskets are filled for the

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

Lime is made from coral, branched coral being preferred.

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preparation is the work of the women, and consists of burning the coral with a minimum of slaking. The work is carried on in the recesses of the bush, the place being kept secret and no men permitted to approach it. Large quantities are prepared at a time, at infrequent intervals. 317
462

Areca-nut and betel-pepper must be provided in abundance on every ceremonial occasion, and are always given to visitors from other villages to take home with them on their return. Each individual carries his own supply of lime, or begs a dip from his neighbour; it is not provided with the other ingredients. When in his own village the chewer of the betel-mixture will freely fling the skins about on the ground, to be swept up by the women in the course of their cleaning. They are thrown away in any convenient spot, in the case of villages on the cliff top generally over the cliff, or they may be burnt. There does not appear to be any special place for disposing of them, as is described by Ivens (1927, p. 287) for the SE. Solomons. But when on a visit to another village, particularly to one in the mountains, where there is always a feeling that the people are not to be trusted, the skins are carefully put into the little basket which everybody carries, and brought away, lest an enemy should use them for making 'bad medicine'. 276
574
364
[609
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Branches of areca-nuts are carried by the messengers sent out by the *tsunaus* to summon people to a ceremony. (Cf. Ivens, 1927, p. 288.) 565

The natives say that chewing the betel-mixture 'makes them feel strong'. I can testify that when they have plenty to chew they are livelier and more inclined to talk. It is known to them that people who chew too much of it are apt to fall into a slightly dazed and stupid condition, and there are a very few who do not like the effect it has upon them and therefore avoid it. The majority, however, obviously feel lost without it, like an inveterate smoker left without tobacco. 276

STORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF VARIOUS FOODSTUFFS

Among my collection of stories there is a large number explaining how the people came to be possessed of, or to learn to use, certain of their foodstuffs. Many of these turn on the activities of the famous 'two brothers', and are connected with a widespread series extending over a large part of the Pacific (see references in my paper on Folk-tales, 1932, p. 74). As the stories are in most cases 773
261
[77]

247 Most people say that this is done to protect the fruit from being eaten by parrots, but one man contradicted this statement when it was made in his presence, saying that the real reason was to make the skin of the fruit become yellow. The bananas are not gathered separately, but the whole tree is cut down and the 'rope' of fruit carried off to the house and hung up to be eaten at leisure.

I have no information regarding any magical procedure used to ensure the welfare of the banana crop, and, so far as I know, the cultivation is done without ceremonial.

Vegetables, other than taro

244 Yams are not cultivated to any great extent by the people of this district. There were none in any of the gardens belonging to the village of Kurtatchi. Some were obtained occasionally by barter. The people of Petats grew them, but they were not in season during the three months of my residence on that island, and I am not able to give any details as to the method of their cultivation.

The Petats people plant a variety of sweet potato, called *durun* in their dialect, which is tended in the same way as taro. A large stone, apparently an implement, was brought to me which its owner said he used to set up in the gardens to make the *durun* grow large. A hole is dug, and the stone is set upright in it. The owner was willing to let me have it because, having come under missionary influence, he did not intend to use it any more. The belief is that if this stone were not set up the *durun* would be small and unpalatable.

Rain-making

789 Since it is in connexion with their agriculture that the people are most dependent on the weather, and particularly on rain, this is perhaps the most appropriate place to give an account of the means which they adopt for regulating rainfall.

791 In every village there is at least one man, and often more than one, who is in the possession of the carefully guarded secret of the procedure for making rain. Though they are often *tsunaw*, the knowledge may be possessed also by commoners, but it is restricted to men. With this goes also the regulation of wind. One very wet day was ascribed to the fact that a famous rain-maker had just died at Saposa; as his 'skin' died the rain came down.

791 In the village of Kurtatchi the man most renowned as a rain-

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fact that it has been castrated and that its ears and tail have been cut. It is always set at liberty. On one occasion a pig was caught which had not had its ears cut, although it had undergone castration. It was claimed by one of the men as his, a claim which no one questioned. A mark was cut in its ears and a piece of its tail was snipped off; it was then let loose again. 231

Pigs caught in such a drive are the joint property of all the men who took part in the hunt. After being cut up and cooked the meat is divided between them. On one occasion I wanted some pig-meat for my servant, and being uncertain who was entitled to be paid for it, was directed to offer the appropriate stick of tobacco to the *tsunaun*, which appeared to be satisfactory to every one concerned. 224 [565] ●

A pig killed in the bush is cooked and eaten the same day at the evening meal. But when wanted for a ceremony, the pigs are, if possible, brought back to the village alive, to be killed just before they are required. An enclosure of logs is put up on the outskirts of the village in which to keep such pigs, and they are fed on coco-nut meat and odd scraps by the women night and morning, like the domestic pigs. But they do not live long in this confinement. 264 796 [477]

On one occasion the Petats people were anxious to secure a number of pigs, but had hunted for two days in succession with very poor results. Three pigs had been caught, but one had died, and one had been set free as somebody's property, leaving only one rather small animal to show for their two days' arduous labour. So they decided to make 'net medicine' (*tahaun*). The nets were piled up beside the road which runs down the length of the island. A group of men gathered round one of the older men, who was squatting near the side of the road chewing the betel-mixture. None of the others was chewing at this time. After a while he took a stalk of cordyline, and tied all the leaves together in a bunch with a piece of grass. Some powdered lime lay beside him in a pandanus leaf. He took a pinch of this and put it among the cordyline leaves. Presently he spat the red saliva out of his mouth on to the leaves in four places, and laid the cordyline stalk upright against a tree. Then there was an interval of several minutes, during which everybody present smoked and talked. Then, without warning, the principal performer snatched up the bunch of cordyline, and turning very suddenly, whipped the pile of nets with it. He struck 224 789

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intended to support. These uprights are set up about 2½ to 3 feet apart; they vary in number according to the length of the house. Narrow slats, flat on the inside, but left slightly rounded on the outside as they came from the tree, are inserted between the two rows of uprights, and held in place by being tied with rattan to the uprights between which they are supported. These slats are obtained from the areca-palm or one of its numerous wild varieties. The two lines of slats thus arranged edge to edge form the side walls (*owor*), the height of which is about 2 feet (Pl. 54 a). The *kurak* are cut off just above these.

342

The house-posts (*toen*) must then be set up. Holes are made for them by pushing a pole into the ground. One man stands in position beside each hole, and all the posts are set in at the same time (Pl. 55 a). They are grasped in both hands and raised high in the air, and then thrust into the ground with all the force at the worker's command. This is repeated several times until the hole is deep enough, and adjustments are made so that the height of each post is correct. If the men cannot drive the posts in far enough they will sharpen the point, if this does not suffice they will cut a piece off. They do not take the trouble to drive them in far enough to be really steady. The structure holds together in its entirety, but each individual post will probably be shaky. The number of posts varies with the length of the hut, three for an ordinary living house and four or five for a men's house is the usual number. The principal house of the *tsunaw* also has four or five, owing to the addition of a porch in front of it. The posts are in three rows, one row along the middle line and one on either side. The posts are made of hard wood, and as they are, on this account, somewhat laborious to fashion, they are often brought from an old house to serve in a new one. They are carved at the upper end in a simple design which does not vary much in different posts (Pl. 54 b). Any one may carve them. The top is shaped into a shallow curve in which to rest the long horizontals which they are intended to support. The posts for the centre of the hut (*gaw*), supporting the ridge-pole, are slightly higher than those on either side (*wal*).

[565] ●

The horizontal supports for the roof (*pa'i*) consist of the aerial roots of the banyan, which are of uniform thickness throughout their length. They are selected some time before they are required, and laid out to season, kept from the ground by resting upon logs. Several men are required for putting them into position on the top

[324]

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342 plement, the worker then slides a thinner strip of cane through it, thus fixing the leaves down firmly (Pl. 56 b). This process is continued along the length of the supporting cane, some 6 or 8 feet.

A number of these lengths of thatch are prepared, men, women, and children all lending a hand. They are put on in layers, beginning at the top of the roof, each succeeding layer being tucked underneath the one above it. Ties of the outer rind of the stem of a plant called *nin* are used to fasten the thatch to the rafters, the ties being placed at intervals of about 2 feet. If the lengths of thatch are made to overlap closely, a very good watertight roof is the result, but the work is often hastened at the expense of efficiency by making them overlap only a little, forming a roof which is very liable to be blown out of place by wind.

342 [177] The two ends of the long, narrow hut are filled in by sheets of bark tied together and to the house-posts. Nowadays, when metal tools are available, planks are more frequently used for this purpose, provided the owner of the house can obtain nails. A space is left, usually not more than slightly over a foot in breadth and rather under 2 feet in height, to serve as a door (see Pl. 33). There is a door at each end of the hut. Planks are placed against these openings at night, secured by propping a log against them on the inside. A few people have now procured hinges or staples and have constructed doors which can be opened and shut, and are sometimes fitted with a bolt. Entrance and exit by these small apertures is a matter requiring considerable agility to the unaccustomed. To enter it is first necessary to climb upon a platform about 3 feet high, which is fixed in front of the end wall, and is made of areca-palm planks resting on three stout poles firmly fixed in the ground. This verandah is much used as a place to sit, sleep, and eat.

342 Both ends of the house are exactly alike, but the front end with its verandah (together called *tagoan*), which faces the cleared 562 space used for dances, is reserved for the men, women being allowed to occupy it only on certain ceremonial occasions. The women's end is the back (*babots*), and here most of their time is spent while they are at home. The men may join them, but all [682] the women's side of the line is strictly taboo to the boys wearing the *ipi*.

342 The house belonging to the man of greatest importance in the 565 village (*tsamoun t'an*) has a porch between the end wall and the

342 verandah, which is covered by the roof but is open in front. This
565 is called the 'eye' of the hut (*matan pi inu*). It serves as a gathering-
place for the men for informal discussions of matters of importance,
as well as for social chats. In it are kept the slit-gongs belonging
to the *tsunaun*, one at least, and possibly two.

342 All the able-bodied men and boys in the village are expected to
476 help in the building of a house, but most of the work will be done
by the owner and his more intimate friends. The workmen are
not paid, but can count upon similar assistance when they require
it. The old men say that the younger ones are now no longer will-
ing to help in this way, they only want to go off into the bush or to
laze on the shore. Even in the case of the men's houses, much
exhortation on the part of the *tsunaun* was necessary before the
requisite amount of labour was forthcoming.

Dimensions of Huts in Kurtatchi Village

	ft.	in.
342 Total length of principal hut	46	2
Open front portion ('eye') of this hut (under roof and included in total length)	11	0
Length of ordinary hut varies, average about	30	0
Total width, the same for all huts	11-12	0
Height, from ridge-pole to ground	10	0
Height of side-walls (<i>oror</i>), approx.	2	0
Height of platform, front and back, approx.	2-3	0
Height of a typical doorway	1	9
Width of a typical doorway	1	4

342 Variations. In some of the hill villages, the front and back of the
184 huts, instead of being closed with sheets of bark or with planks, are
constructed of bamboo twisted and plaited into elaborate patterns,
or laced together somewhat after the manner of a Venetian blind.
Where this is found in the coast villages, as it sometimes is, e.g. at
Saposa, it is done in imitation of the practice of the hill people, on
the suggestion of the mission, as an improvement on the usual type
of coast house. On the islands of Petats, Pororan, and Hitau, the
342 missionaries are encouraging the building of houses of an entirely
177 different style, raised on piles, with high walls and a pitched roof (see
[197] Pl. 3 b). These are rapidly replacing the old-style huts, and the inno-
vation is gradually spreading. On Petats hardly any of the old-
style huts remain. There is no doubt that the raising of the house
on piles, necessitating the construction of a plank floor in place
of the bare ground, and the additional air and light obtained by

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

Manufacture. Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The

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the tree from which the wood is taken is *tolos* (P.) or *toras* (K.). 549
Some villages do not know how to make these instruments for 824
themselves; those who require one either buy it from other villages 184
or pay workmen to come to their own place to make it. There were 436
three unfinished ones in the deserted village of Gomen; those who
commissioned them had not wished to pay the men of Hanahan to
finish them. The best are said to be made by the people of Sollos,
the hill district of Buka, to whom the art was first taught, according
to the legend. Ownership of a *garamuts* is individual, and is re- 422
stricted to persons who are *tsunam*. A Kurtatchi man bought a 565
fair-sized instrument from the island of Pororan for one fathom of 435
paio (ceremonial currency of flying-fox teeth), one fathom of *beroon*
(shell-disk currency), and ten bamboo lengths of *oin* (red paint).
The man who made it demanded another fathom of *paio*, but did
not get it.

They are made in the bush, where a shelter is erected over the 549
spot. In the olden days they were shaped with stone or clam-shell
implements, but now the outside is worked with metal blades
hafted like an adze. Sticks are fastened along the top to define the
narrow opening. The inside is then hollowed out with iron pig-
spear or with knives fastened on to long rods. This used to be
done with clam-shell tools. Leaves are rubbed on the instru-
ment in process of working to make it easier, so that it will be
finished quickly. They are also rubbed on the hands of the worker,
together with lime, and then smeared over the slit-gong. I could
not learn if any form of words is used with this procedure. If the
instrument is left too long unfinished the wood gets too hard to
work. To make one is considered quite an important undertaking.
If two people work on it fairly constantly it takes about three
weeks. Only a few people know the procedure; they pass on their
knowledge to any one they care to select. Anybody can watch it [462]
being made, but the women take no part in making it.

Slit-gongs vary considerably in size. The largest I saw measured 534
about 8 feet in length, the smallest about 3 feet. None were made
at the village of Kurtatchi, but Karabun of Tabut made a small one
at my request. This, though smaller than those in general use, was
more than a model, since it was used in several dances before being
handed over to me. The people were delighted with its tone, in
fact some of them wanted it to be retained in the village instead of
being given to me. It is decorated with a conventional pattern.

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this involves some skill on the part of the beaters, and no small amount of muscular energy is also required to give the necessary volume of sound, so that if a *kōma* continues for hours together, as it usually does, several men must take turns at beating the rhythm. 533

For sending messages only one *garamuts* is used, the largest in the village, which is usually to be found in the portico of the most important *tsunaun*'s house. The sound carries for several miles. 202
[565]
I have known people to be recalled to the village by it from a taro garden at least four miles away, and have no doubt that the sound can be heard for much longer distances, given suitable atmospheric conditions.

The method differs from that used with the 'talking drums' of West Africa, which reproduce messages of any kind by means of tonal differences. The slit-gong sends only certain recognized messages, using a kind of Morse code of long and short beats. These signals differ in different localities. A number of those in use on the island of Pororan are given by Gordon Thomas (1931, p. 225). Some of the chief signals in use at Kurtatchi are as follows:

1. Visit of some one of importance:

// // // // // // // //

Any one working in the taro garden when this signal is heard at once returns to the village. It is, therefore, used also if the presence, say, of the *tsunaun* is urgently required. It will be used if the report arrives that the District Officer is on his way to the village.

2. To announce the death of a person of rank:

.../ .../ .../ .../ .../ .../
/ // // ...//

The *garamuts* is not beaten at the death of commoners.

3. At the end of the women's special dance at funerary rites for a *tsunaun*:

//// .. /.../...////.../.../...////

4. To announce a feast:

//...../...../..... /...//...////// [574]
.....//

5. To announce the end of a feast:

///
/.../...//...//...//

AESTHETIC ARTS

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302 or put on the fire. Anybody, apparently, may cut or trim the hair, so long as they do not stand in any of the taboo relationships. Men may do it for women, whether related to them or not. It is regarded [513] as a privilege as well as a duty for the wife to trim her husband's hair on the occasion of a dance or a ceremony. There is no change in the fashion of dressing the hair consequent upon marriage.

302 During a period of mourning it is forbidden to cut the hair or to
 ● 565 put paint on it. After the death of a person of rank this prohibition
 765 extends to all the people of the village, for a commoner only to his immediate relatives. The period is terminated by a feast. For some misfortune affecting the whole village a similar prohibition may be enforced. During a part of my visit, several people in the village of Kurtatchi were affected by very bad septic sores and by common consent for several weeks no one put paint on the head or cut the hair, those not affected observing the prohibition as well as the sufferers. When they had all recovered, a feast was held, in preparation for which everybody trimmed the hair elaborately and put paint on it.

↳ Ornaments.

301 Ornaments worn in the hair include carved combs, made of bamboo (Pl. 67, no. 9), flowers, feathers, &c. The tail-feathers of [537] the domestic cock are in great demand on festive occasions, indeed the birds seemed to be valued solely for this purpose. This form of decoration is called *sab*. Small red, green, or yellow parrot feathers are very highly prized, and are stuck into the hair in all directions, like pins in a pin-cushion. The particular kind most admired cannot be obtained in the neighbourhood of Kurtatchi, but comes from a variety of parrot found only in the hills. Flowers are stuck into the hair one on each side of the head above the ears. Small red and yellow ones are chiefly used in this way, but a single large hibiscus is sometimes seen worn over the forehead. I have seen girls wearing round their heads branches hung with limes; this has a very picturesque effect. The leaves of a number of [524] aromatic plants are also worn stuck into the hair, and those of a white variegated form of the fern *kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata* Spring). These white leaves are eagerly sought for in the bush, and women will pull the plants up by the roots and plant them nearer the village. Live butterflies are frequently fastened to the hair by a thin bit of fibre and left to flutter round the head, or their

The belts made by women during the period of mourning
424 AESTHETIC ARTS for A

- 301 *tsunaun* (see Chap. XIV, p. 497, and Pl. 75) have a warp of the fibre
765 growing round the base of the banana palm. The black threads in
565 the weft are obtained from the trunk of the bush banana (*wirtsun*);
283 white ones consist of the same substance scraped and rubbed with
824 sand. The yellow threads are made from the midrib of the leaves
of a plant called *kiki'ie* (*Cycas* sp.), dyed with *totomoin* (turmeric).
The red threads of the specimen figured (in Pl. 75) were drawn
from the maker's loin-cloth; in the olden days she would have taken
leaves of the plant used in making the red part of the women's
hoods, dyed with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

Deformation of the Person.

- 304 *Head.* Babies' heads are manipulated at birth and afterwards
for some weeks, by pressing the hands at the back and sides to
make them perpendicular. The effect desired is that which is in-
creased by the method of hair-dressing. At birth it is done by the
old women attending, frequently the grandmother, afterwards by
the mother whenever she thinks of it. There is no 'cradle-board
854 deformation'. Babies are put to sleep on the ground, on a woman's
hood or a plank, but their position is varied, and they do not spend
a great deal of time on their backs, so that no pressure is exercised
in this way. No head-dress or bandage is used on babies. They are
not nursed on the arm persistently enough to influence their head
form at all.
- 304 *Nose.* A baby's nose is pinched soon after birth to make it grow
long. A flat nose is much disliked and is a subject of ridicule. The
septum is pierced at the age of five or six. It is done to children of
both sexes, and is still general. The reason given is that if the
septum is pierced, when the individual dies, the worms will go
through the hole and will not eat the body.¹
- 304 As a rule, a special feast is made on the occasion of the piercing.
852 But if a feast is in progress for some other reason, it will be made
to serve for the piercing as well. Should the village be in mourn-
ing for a *tsunaun*, so that no feast is permitted, the operation
may be carried out without one, if the children's parents do not
wish to delay it till the end of the mourning period. The actual

¹ See further discussion in Chap XIV. For another instance of the connexion
between nose-piercing and the fate of the dead, cf. Codrington (1891, p. 256)
who states that in Florida the ghosts of those whose noses were pierced could
follow the easy path.

304 sacrilege. The ceremony for Nawi was actually arranged, and
 852 Nawi was escorted over to Baniu for the purpose, but she and another girl ran away and hid in the bush, a third was ill, and as only one more child was ready for it, the ceremony was abandoned. When I left the island they were still uncertain whether it would be held at all.

The subjoined account of the procedure was obtained mainly from Pari, one of the older women, herself a woman of rank and heavily marked. As usual, it was commented upon freely by the audience, who prompted her when she left out any detail they considered of importance.

[887] The cutting is done by old women. Some people are well known for their skill, and are much in demand. The names of three were
 [614] given to me, one at Tabut, one at Ruri, and one at Timputs. The woman usually belongs to the same clan as the child, e.g. a Nakarib woman will not, as a rule, undertake to cut a Naboin child; she would be too much ashamed. But if the child's mother's people, i.e. his relatives of the Naboin clan, very much desire the cutting to be done by a certain woman, she may be persuaded to undertake it even though she belongs to the Nakarib clan.

304 If the child is *tsunaun* and has an elaborate pattern, a fathom of
 ● 565 *imun* (currency made of flying fox or porpoise teeth, worth about
 437 £5 in native opinion) may be paid for the operation. The child's mother pays it direct to the woman herself. For a commoner, other things of less value are given.

304 The children are not told what is going to happen to them. If
 852 they find out they often run away.

On the day before that fixed for the operation, a basket is filled with the black-lip oyster-shell knives which are to be used. This basket is rubbed over the back of a pig, which is then allowed to run away. The purpose of this action is to prevent the skin of the child from being hard and difficult to cut. All the women take the basket in turn and carry it round and round as they *kōma*. They *kōma* all night.

Next day the people all collect, and some men go and cut poles to make a platform for the child to lie upon. The women carry the poles back to the village, each woman carrying one. When they reach the village they put the poles on their shoulders and walk round in a circle and *kōma* with them. Then they are laid on the ground in front of the principal house. The men put in posts for

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304 The reason given for this practice is that if it is not done too
 [185] much blood stays in the body and the child will not grow big.¹
 On the girls, it is supposed to 'make their milk come up'. It
 [182] is also liked by the men. 'They say: "That is a fine woman,
 she has good marks on her body".' Tapē (Pl. 69b) was mentioned
 —by a man—as one of the most beautiful girls in the village. She
 is a commoner and the pattern on her body can be used by any one.

304 Besides the distinction between *tsunaun* and commoners there
 184 are also differences due to locality. The patterns in the list here
 given are used by the people of the north coast of Bougainville,
 as far as, and including, the island of Tiop at the extreme
 north-eastern corner, which also in other respects belongs to the
 same group. The Hahon people (inhabitants of the mountain
 district behind the northern coast-line) make a mark shaped thus
 SS in the centre of each cheek. The body is left unmarked except
 for a small ring on either buttock. The Kunua people have a line
 on each cheek, curving from the edge of the nostril up to the outer
 canthus, some ending in a circle on the upper portion of the cheek,
 just in front of the zygomatic arch. A child I saw, who looked no
 more than about eighteen months old, already had these marks.
 The coast people told me that the Kunua people put them on
 much earlier than they themselves did.

304 The following list gives the principal patterns in general use. It
 is worthy of note that the one called *lalōm* (Pl. 70b), used on the
 [545] back of the neck of persons who are *tsunaun*, is almost identical
 [171] with that placed on the foreheads of the Arahā (chiefly) clan among
 the people of San Cristoval (Fox, 1924, p. 16).

NAMES OF PATTERNS CUT ON SKIN

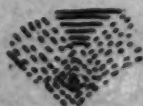
304 *pipi*, general term for cicatrization.

192 *gom*, marks cut on the face. These usually follow the features to some
 extent, somewhat like the Maori tattooing, but much less elaborate.

lalōm, pattern on back of neck of person of rank (m. or f.) (see Pl. 70b).



lalōm



wabuin

¹ As far as I could learn, the presence or absence of these marks had no connection with the fate of the individual after death, as reported for the SE. Solomons by Ivans (1927, p. 182).

436

AESTHETIC ARTS

Woven designs.

301 The woven arm-bands are obtained from the people of the
 531 mountains, and are not made locally. The meaning of most of the
 [438] designs could not be ascertained. That figured in Pl. 67, no. 5,
 which somewhat resembles a Greek key pattern, was said to represent a man, but no explanation was forthcoming.

765 A number of different patterns are incorporated in the mourning
 531 belt.

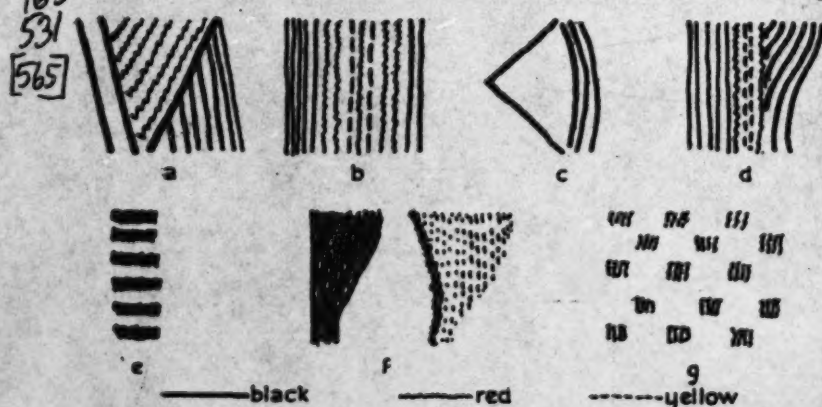


FIG. 28. Patterns on mourning belt.

belt woven by the women on the occasion of the death of a person of rank (Pl. 75, no. 1). These are all traditional, and were explained as follows (the letters refer to Fig. 28): (a) *pekpeko*, name of pattern; (b) *taparo*, name of pattern; (c) *wimous*, a little fish found on the reef at low tide; (d) *bas*, the iguana; (e) *wire*, a small sea-urchin plentiful on the reef; (f) *katfian*, croton leaves; (g) *owan a ts*, fruit of the sago palm.

Patterns on pottery.

323 The only patterns used on the Buka pottery are the simple nicks
 531 and lines, made with the crinkled edge of a shell, or with the
 [422] finger-nails, round the edges of the pots (Pl. 61a). At Malasang,
 where the pots are made, I was told that these marks, besides being
 put on for ornament, also served as a sign of ownership. But I
 noticed that the potter put the same pattern on several consecutive
 pots, so no monopoly of pattern could be claimed by the several
 owners.

436 The other variety of ceremonial currency is called *paio* in the Petats dialect and *imun* in the Kurtatchi dialect. It is apparently of more ancient usage than *beroan*, and of local origin. Some of the older men know how to make it, but do not often add to the existing quantity in circulation; whether this is due to the trouble involved in the manufacture, or to some ritual restriction, I am unable to say. I did not come across any one who possessed this skill.

[171] *Imun* consists of a string of teeth, either of porpoise (or dolphin) or of flying fox (*Terapus*) but never both in the same string, set into a kind of rope of twisted fibre so that their pointed ends jut out (Pl. 67, 1a, 1b). Dogs' teeth, which are reported from Florida and Ysabel (Codrington, 1891, p. 325), are not used in this area. The strings are covered with *oin*, and when not in use are kept in a receptacle—a pot or a coco-nut shell—filled with this red powder.

The unit of length is the same as for *beroan*. One fathom (*pe'es a yau*) of *imun* made of flying-fox teeth measured 5 ft. 11 in.; the teeth started $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. from one end and 9 in. from the other. A fathom of porpoise teeth *imun* measured 6 ft. 5 in.; the teeth started 15 in. from one end and $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the other, the rest of the length at both extremities being merely string. These were considered rather short strings; the teeth in them were small. In both strings the teeth were set 5 to the inch.

[435] A fathom is now arbitrarily valued by the natives at one *fius* (£5 of our money). But in point of fact the question does not often arise, because the Government has forbidden both *imun* and *beroan* to be used in any transaction involving white people, owing to the trouble arising over its valuation. Between natives, it is used only for important transactions, such as making the ceremonial payments in respect of marriage, and for buying pigs. Some strings are given names and are much treasured by their owners, who keep

[765] them to hand on to their heirs. To some of these relics are attached, such as portions of the person of an ancestor or of an enemy who has been eaten (see p. 192). The *tinnaun* is always supposed to possess a large number of strings, but he keeps carefully secret the actual number he owns, taking out a portion of his stock for exchange or for ceremonial exhibition when required. *Imun* is never

[301] used purely for personal adornment, but a string may be hung on the person ceremonially on certain rare occasions.

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

431 sex). This applies also to the extension of that relationship beyond
602 the scope of the blood tie as it appears in genealogies (this is discussed on p. 33). No direct payment is offered or expected in such a case, but the recipient is, of course, liable to be called upon in his turn.

431 Apart from this, the native expects neither to give nor to receive 'something for nothing', unless it be a smouldering ember, which corresponds to our asking for a match.

[465] An exception to this occurs in the case of plantation labourers returning from their three years of service. A certain proportion of their earnings is paid to them as a lump sum at the end of their 'time', and this they usually expend on knives, mouth-organs, and such other trifles as their hearts delight in. But as soon as they return to their own village, friends and relations crowd around, expecting the treasures to be divided amongst them, so that very soon the unfortunate owner has little to show for his labour except the memory of having been for a brief moment the hero of the village.

RECIPROCAL EXCHANGES

[576] There are many occasions on which a presentation of some article, usually a package of ceremonial pudding, is reciprocated by the return, at some future, but not too far distant, time, of a precisely similar article. It would be a gross breach of etiquette to omit to 'back' such a gift in appropriate fashion. When we went to meet the women of Baniu to trade with them for good taro stalks for planting, we took with us some large packets of ceremonial pudding to give to one of them in return for some that had been given on the occasion of Muben's marriage to Kakari several months before.

PROPERTY

Land.

[423] The land belongs to the village group. But the rights in it are
425 vested in the *tumane* *t/əm*, the man of greatest importance in the
565 village or group of hamlets. He may sell it, either to other natives or to white men, but in practice he would consult the older men of the village before arranging such a transaction. No such deal went through during my residence, and I have no details of prices or media of payment.¹ Pinari had a grudge against Karabun, the

¹ The District Officer now supervises all buying of land by white people from natives, and adjudicates over the price, which is paid in money. Some of the

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

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tsunaim tsan at Tabut, because his forefathers had sold the land where the village of Tabut now stands to Karabun's forefathers for a sum which, Pinari contended, covered only the site of the village, and not the bush behind it, potentially useful for taro gardens. The other side claimed that the payment made for the village site was enough for this also. Pinari used to make spasmodic attempts to extract additional payment from Karabun, but without success.

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Land thus vested in the *tsunaim* descends of right to his heir to this office, his eldest sister's eldest son. But all the people of the group have the right to hunt or to gather wild fruits or berries in it, and to take water or fish from pools, or leaves for thatch, &c., irrespective of clan.

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Certain spots, a particular group of rocks, a clump of trees, a pool, are considered to be the special property of one or other of the clans, because some spirit is supposed to dwell there who is intimately concerned with that particular clan. This subject will be further discussed in Chapter XV.

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The amount of land to be cleared for a new taro garden is decided by discussion, according to the purpose for which the taro is required. The garden is held in common in so far as it is enclosed by one fence, which all the men help to erect, but each man sets up a certain portion of this fence, which he is responsible for keeping in good condition. The Petats people divided the plots according to the uprights in the fence, each man taking, as a rule, the space between two uprights for each of his dependants, e.g. wives and children. The Kurtatchi people divide the garden by means of logs laid on the ground (see Pl. 40). At the original division which takes place when the worst of the bush has been cleared from the new garden, each man will take a plot for each of his wives, one for his sister if she be a widow living in the same village, and sometimes others for his children. A little girl can own a plot of taro, which her mother will help her to tend. The mother will probably destroy this taro if the child dies. For the further clearing of these plots from underbrush the man who annexed them is personally responsible, and his womenfolk must plant it and keep it weeded. They are entitled to take the produce for themselves and their families. If any one wants more taro than there is on her own plot,

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earlier deals are still the subject of dispute, the natives asserting that the white men did not pay all that they promised.

423 she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be available. But when a big feast, such as the *watawuts*, is held, [62] each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment [57] of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

423 Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who wishes to plant coco-nut palms.¹ These trees are then his personal property, and no one would take nuts from them without his consent, except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters, 602 both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be 576 while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose owner he stood in such relationship.

423 Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree, or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to' him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous paragraph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true [171] here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

Pigs.

422 Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be 231 owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is 554 regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was sometimes the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may [342] build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this 427 *tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who are exempt.

231 Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

¹ The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

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household pets, and calls them by name.¹ They roam about the village or the bush at will, but come morning and evening to their owner's hut to be fed when called. I have frequently seen women and children caressing them, but do not know of any case in which they have been suckled by women, though this may quite possibly occur, as reported from other areas. Village pigs have their ears slit as a mark of identification, and the males are castrated, which is regarded as a means of identifying them when they are caught in the nets meant for wild pigs, though the reason given for carrying out this operation is that they will not be so wild and so likely to run away. (See further discussion of this question in Chapter III.) No attempt is made to breed, but the females have plenty of opportunity of foregathering with bush pigs, so that the supply is maintained in spite of this custom. The litter belongs to the person who owns the mother. Sometimes young pigs are taken over to Baniu to be cared for there, because 'the ground is better for them' [437] there than at Kurtatchi. In this case, when the sow farrows, the Baniu people are given a piglet for their trouble.

On the occasion of a major feast, pigs are contributed by each person concerned in any respect, according to his ability, assessed by the *tsuniam*. Some months before the *watawuts* ceremony was due to be held, Pinari went round to some of the villages whose boys were to take part in it, leaving at every house a short length of bamboo; this was an indication that such a house was to provide a pig for the associated feast, the family would then set aside a certain pig for that purpose.

The pigs belonging to a person of rank are killed at his death to provide food for the people who come to wail.

Wild pigs killed in the bush are the property of the huntsman. If a concerted drive is made with nets, the pigs caught belong to

¹ Some pigs are named after the place they came from, or the person from whom they were obtained. Some are given names reminiscent of events which happened at the time they were born, e.g. 'Kwigin', for a pig born when the *upi* boys were being given food by the *Awigin* (older men) in the bush, prior to the *watawuts* ceremony. Some contain a sly allusion to somebody's personal idiosyncrasy: 'Guruskui', 'Sleeps over his work'; 'Muwapuin', 'Eats herself and gives none away'. Other names refer to a physical peculiarity of the pig: 'Pipipipan', 'One ear cut, one ear not cut'. Not infrequently there is a dig at the white man. One pig was called by the name of a planter whom the natives much disliked, this was intended as an insult. Another was called 'Whiteman'. On inquiring the reason for this, I was told: 'The white people give their pigs names of our people, so we called our pig "Whiteman".'

224 all the people who participated in the hunt; they are cut up and divided equally; each man then takes his own share home. If he so desires, the *tsunaum tsan* can claim a portion for himself, whether or no he was present at the hunt. If a large number of pigs are wanted for a special feast, wild pigs thus caught are kept alive till wanted, when they are put into the common stock of food.

[565] 231 Domestic pigs are killed only on ceremonial occasions. The day when this will inevitably happen is anticipated with mixed feelings by their owners, pride in being able to furnish the contribution required of them being tempered by grief at the loss of a pet. No one, however, would ever refuse to part with his pig when occasion required. Domestic pigs only, never wild ones, are used in economic and ceremonial transactions. Many of these have been noted in their appropriate context.

Other possessions.

231 Dogs are much valued as personal possessions.¹ A good hunting dog is greatly prized by its owner and coveted by others. They are bought and sold, but never form part of a ceremonial payment as pigs do. One day four men came to Kurtatchi on their way back to a mountain village; they bought a dog from Pinari for which they paid him 10s. in shillings. They carried it away with them, its legs tied with strips of bark, and its mouth and eyes covered with half a coco-nut shell put on like a muzzle, a hole having been cut through which the dog could breathe.

422 Canoes are owned by the men, but their families may use them. A woman does not own a canoe unless her husband is dead, then she may take his. While he is alive she will ask his permission when she wishes to use it, and if he wants it himself he will go to another man and borrow one for her.

422 For the rest, the men have their fishing-nets, and other apparatus, pig-spears, musical instruments, &c.; some still cling to war spears, clubs, and ornamented arrows of the olden days, which they carry now on ceremonial occasions only. The women all possess black-lip oyster-shell knives, which they make by grinding down the shell on lumps of rough coral; *kōbū*, and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens on the back; cleaned-out coco-nuts for holding

[552] ¹ Dogs are given names of the same kinds as those given to pigs. One, for example, was called *Patū*, because the rest of the litter died, and it was thought that by and by he would die too (*patū tomet in*).

On another occasion the same thing took place at

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SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS Kurtatchi.

- 425 Some of the women went round to each hut breaking up water
 579 coco-nuts, the owners giving them old ones for the purpose. The
 565 reason was that the wife of one of the important men had called
 her husband a lazy good-for-nothing who spent all his time at
 dances and did no work. When a woman scolds her husband, if
 he is *tsunaun*, the other women go round breaking things from
 every house in the village, not only the house of the couple involved.
 425 Intentional destruction of property also takes place on the occa-
 882 sion of the *wapi* ceremony as described on p. 203.

INHERITANCE

- 565 A man's official heir is his eldest sister's eldest son. If she has
 428 no son the second sister's son takes the position. Failing the sons
 of full sisters, a son of his mother's sister—for whom he uses the
 same kinship term—would be the heir. I did not meet with this
 contingency. It is of importance chiefly in the transmission of the
 position of *tsunaun tʃan*, the person of highest rank in the village.
 Pinari's eldest sister, Pari, had a son who died in childhood. The
 heir was, therefore, Kakari, the son of his younger sister Matev. He
 cannot alienate this right however much he may wish to do so.
 With it goes the right to direct certain ceremonies, and the official
 ownership of land. Wasē, Pinari's eldest son, held in Kurtatchi no
 official position, but was accorded a measure of respect by virtue
 of the importance of his father. But if he had been living in his
 mother's village he would there have been the person next but one
 in importance to the *tsunaun tʃan*, who was his mother's mother's
 brother, yielding only to the son of an elder sister of his mother.
 On the death of his mother's brother he had been sent to his father
 at Kurtatchi, and had elected to remain there.

- 428 Personal property, including ceremonial currency, can be, and
 789 often is, left to a man's own children instead of to his sister's
 children. The same applies to knowledge of special magic. Pinari,
 who had no great liking for his nephew, had passed on his know-
 ledge of magic for making dogs hunt well to his son Wasē, and did
 not intend to give it to his sister's son Kakari, who would succeed
 him as *tsunaun*. He said that Kakari would have half his material
 possessions, and his own children would have the other half;
 Kakari would divide it.

Other magic may be similarly inherited in several ways, either
 from a father—real or classificatory—or from a mother's brother,

DEATH AND THE URAR

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While visiting other villages on Buka I obtained a little information bearing on the subject of death and funerary rites. Under the circumstances, my informants were naturally men with whom I was not well acquainted, and whose reliability I had no opportunity of checking. The details, however, are consistent, and the information, slight though it is, may perhaps be worth giving as corroborative evidence. It is transcribed from the pidgin-English record in my note-books, as the dialect of these villages differs sufficiently from those with which I am acquainted to make it necessary to fall back upon the *lingua franca*.

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NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF LEMANMANU,
LONTIS COAST, W. BUKA

When a man dies his relatives must not eat taro for ten days. They may eat bananas, coco-nut, and yams. The women stay in the house and weep. In the olden days the body of a person of rank was kept for two months in the house, and was then taken out to sea in a canoe and thrown into the sea. They said it was no good to bury him because some one might come and dig him up. Commoners could be buried. Sometimes a man was buried in the house and after a long time his bones were taken up and thrown into the sea. His pillow and other belongings were burnt on the fire which cooked the pigs for the feast.

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NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF HANAHAN, E. BUKA

When a man dies, for ten days his relatives may not eat anything but bananas, yams, and coco-nuts. They must not touch taro, or pig, or opossum, or fish. At the end of the ten days they may make a fire and burn some taro, pig, fish, and opossum; then they may eat these things. For a person of rank, the whole village keeps this taboo for two months. They wash the body, put red ochre mixed with coco-nut oil on the hair, and outline the forehead with white. In times past they threw the body into the sea, but now they bury it. Loin-cloths and other things belonging to the dead man are put in the coffin. In times past these things were kept in the house until such time as a feast was made, then they were burnt. The relatives change their names.

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¹ This apparently is a reference to the custom called in the Petats dialect *haham* (see p. 487).

DEATH AND THE URAR

INFORMATION OBTAINED AT THE VILLAGE OF KURTATCHI,
N. BOUGAINVILLE

764 As previously explained, this village is under the jurisdiction of
797 the Roman Catholic Mission, and has a resident mission teacher,
a native of another village. He took up residence only a few weeks
before my arrival, but teaching had been going on for some time
and I found that the funeral arrangements, except for the custom-
ary wailing, were conducted entirely according to the ritual of the
Roman Catholic Church. The only exception was that Maravin,
an old man who had been hostile to the mission, was buried with
no ceremony whatever. The native mission teacher would not
conduct a Christian service over him because he had not been bap-
tized, and the natives were afraid to perform their own rites for fear
of incurring the displeasure of the priest. But the village went in
terror of his *urar* for many a day, in consequence of the omission.

764 I did not, therefore, witness the ritual about to be described, but
177 the change was recent enough for a clear memory of what formerly
took place to remain in the minds of my informants. Although they
appeared to welcome the new teaching, being of the opinion that
the practices of the white man were, *ipso facto*, superior to their own,
it seemed to me that the change had been one in outward form only,
and that they retained their own beliefs concerning death and the
future life side by side with as much as they understood of the ideas
implanted by the mission teacher, in happy unconsciousness of any
incongruity.

764 The following description of the old funerary rites was given me
by Mataré, my most intelligent and reliable informant. Other men
were standing by listening as he talked, and occasionally chimed in
to corroborate or to suggest some detail which he had omitted.
Accounts received on other occasions tallied with this in all essen-
tials, and it may, I think, be accepted as a reasonably accurate
description of ceremonies that will never be performed again.

Funerary rites

- [565] When a person of *tsunam* lineage dies all the people wail. They
make a stretcher (*pōpōa*) to carry him on. In the olden days they took
the man on the stretcher far out to sea in a canoe and, having tied
his feet together with creepers, they fixed stones to the body, threw

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it in, and threw the stretcher in after him. Sometimes the stretcher was brought back and kept till it rotted. When the white men came and the natives saw that they buried their dead, they began to do so too. Matarē (a man aged probably somewhere round thirty) said the dead were still thrown into the sea when he was fully grown. If a man died without relatives they just put a rope round him, but otherwise his relatives made the stretcher and carried him carefully. 764 [177]

As soon as a person dies a fire is made inside the house in which he died, lime is sprinkled all round it, and the people present 'pretend to fight' the lime (i.e. flip their fingers at it, as shown by gestures). They all put lime on their ears. This is done for commoners as well as for *tsunaun*. [20]

The body of a *tsunaun* is put up under the roof of the house; a rough platform consisting of two planks is made, and the body laid on it. All the people wail. No one is allowed to touch it or to look at it. It remains there five or six days and nights.¹ Pig and taro are provided for the people from other villages who come to wail (the ritual wailing, *wa'lr*). They do not all wail all the time, some keep it up while others go off and eat. The near relatives do not touch this food. The pigs provided belong to the dead man and to his relatives. Other people may help provide pigs if they wish, even if they are not immediately concerned. (Matarē said he helped his wife's father, Pinari, when Pinari's brother died, though he was under no obligation to do so.) [565]

The women and girls go to the bush at dead of night (a most unusual proceeding) and fetch coco-nuts and areca-nut and betel-pepper. They take with them axes and knives, but they must not take fire or torches (again a direct departure from ordinary procedure). The men stay in the village. The women come back while it is still dark and put the things they have brought on the verandahs of the dead man's house, some at the front and some at the back.

The women do a special dance which is not used on any other occasion. (This was demonstrated, it was a sort of hop with both feet together, and both hands behind the back.) The conch-shells 764 535

¹ No specific means taken to preserve the body were mentioned, but up on its platform it would be exposed to the smoke of any fire burning in the hut. It was not stated whether the fire previously mentioned was kept burning all the time or not.

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thrown into the sea with the body. But his pillow remains behind in the house; a special feast is made for it at a later time, perhaps two or three years after, when it is burnt, with spears and other things, and pig is cooked on the fire. The widow stays in the house while the man is being buried, together with the young girls. The men and the old women of the village go to the graveyard. The widow continues to wail all that day, after the others have ceased. She must not eat till her husband 'is gone out of her sight'.

If the wife was very fond of her husband, she may request that his body be buried in the house. Sometimes the body is kept thus for a time and then the bones are taken up and buried in the graveyard, sometimes it stays in the house where it was first buried.

After the burial, whether in the house or in the graveyard, the front verandah (*tagoan*, the men's side) is closed up with coco-nut leaves, and the bush is left to grow up round it. The man's wives, and his mother if she is alive, stop inside the house, and are looked after by the other women of the village. They put black paint (*t/ina*) on their bodies which they must smear all over. They cut their hair short when they first go into seclusion; it is left to grow while they are shut up.

While they remain in the house the women make special belts (*ma*) (see Pl. 75 and Chap. XI, p. 436) with an intricately woven pattern of several colours. If the deceased is a person of rank they must make enough belts for every man and woman of the village to wear. This sometimes takes as long as eight or ten months (for a commoner two or three months is enough). The women remain shut up all this time. The bush grows up round the house, so that it is scarcely seen, and the pigs defile the front verandah.

When enough belts have been made, a time is fixed for the women to come out. Then men clear a path to their taro gardens which have been looked after meanwhile by their friends. They put on more *t/ina*, but are not allowed to use *ain* (red paint). They put on the belts. The men take spears, and give each woman two arrows (*maay*) set with bones of the flying fox. They come out holding these. They go round to the front of the house and break the fence of coco-nut leaves round the front verandah. This is done in the early morning. They go back to their own side of the house (*babots*), and stay a little while, then they go to the taro garden. They must plant some taro in a special corner of the garden (*manib*). When they have finished they take off the belts,

765 set up a tree with plenty of branches on it in the middle of the place called *manib*, and hang up the belts on it.

Some additional details concerning the women's first visit to the taro garden after their seclusion were given me in the course of an account by another informant, an old man, at a later date. The widow plants a taro stalk, another woman takes it out again and lays it on the ground, then another woman plants it again, and this goes on till all the women in the village have had their turn.

[778] Then the women stick up a tree in the taro garden and hang ornamental and aromatic leaves on it; the widow, as she hangs each spray, calls out the names of all her relatives who are dead, saying: 'My mother, I put this *nibnib* (ornamental plant) for you', 'My father, I put this *nibnib* for you', and similarly for her brother, her sister, her child, her *waris*, if they are dead.

• [565] Then one man who is *tsunawen* makes a fire and calls the names of all the *urar*, who have died before. He puts taro, coco-nuts, and areca-nuts on the fire, the fire burns them up. Then the men start working on the taro garden, clearing away the rubbish, and the women plant. While they are working they must not eat. If they were to do so, the *urar* would fight them and make them mad. They all put lime in front of their ears. They take down the belts from the tree where they have been hanging and put them on again. Then, if the fire has been made and the food burnt, they may eat a little in the *manib*.

765 Then a *ta'us* plant (a species of cordyline) is planted in the
824 *manib*. Every one goes off and hides just outside the taro garden.
565 The *ta'us* plant stands up on the edge of the taro garden. Then a man who is *tsunawen* calls out the name of the man who has died. The wild spirits of the bush answer the first time, the man calls out twice more, then the dead man's own spirit (*abin*) comes howling. The *tsunawen* calls out: 'You come, let us go to the village, all the people have gone.' They all look at the *ta'us*; if it bends over, the man's spirit (*abin*) is sitting on it.² If it does not bend, the

¹ As explained in Chapter I, taro can be planted at any time of the year.

[773] ² Compare with this the procedure employed to know whether a man gravely ill will die or will recover. 'Take the root of the plant *markit* and give some to the sick man to eat. Take also a small branch of the same plant and hold it upright near him. If he is to die his *abin* will come and sit on top of the branch and it will bend over, if he will live it will stay straight.' This procedure was taught to Tahiriv by the *urar* at a time when he was *tsunawen*. They also taught it to another man who is now dead.

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to practise, cannibalism, these people never ate human flesh merely to appease hunger, or as a relish to taro, as other flesh food is eaten. There must always be some sanction behind the consumption of man. With these natives, it was done as an insult or as a punishment, or as a necessary adjunct to certain ceremonies, and the usual victims were enemies taken in war. The distinction is perhaps a subtle one, since those who have eaten human flesh freely admit that they enjoyed it, and although raids seem to have taken place for a variety of reasons, it seems not unlikely that some excuse might readily be found for undertaking one when the desire for a taste of human flesh became strong. It will be remembered that the staple diet of these folk is vegetarian, and that, at the present time, their greatest luxury in the way of food is pigmeat.

One raid was certain to be reciprocated by another, and thus was started a chain of retaliatory raids, first by one side and then by the other, till one or other party tired of it and offered ceremonial currency to compound the feud. They would then say to the other party: 'All right, let us finish now, let us be good friends now. We will come down to see you, and you will come up on top (i.e. into the mountains) to our place.' It will be noted that it is the mountain people who are represented as being the side to ask for a cessation of hostilities, the account coming from the people of a coastal village.

Pinari, ~~truman~~ of Kurtatchi, told me the following details of a raid in which he had taken part. He could give me no idea how long ago it was.

The people of Gogoiv (a village on Buka) killed two men, Waripa, a ~~truman~~, and another man who was a commoner, while they were shooting fish from a canoe. Both men belonged to Tiop. The rest of the people were away at one of the ~~spi~~ ceremonies. The people of Tiop asked us to help avenge them. A ~~truman~~ from Tabut came with me, and we went and raided Gogoiv and killed a man, and took him in a canoe to Tiop, and we all ate him there in revenge for Waripa.

An account of the cooking of a prisoner was given me by an old man at Saposia who had himself taken part in such affairs.

People used to go out to fight, they would come to a village, they fight, they set fire to the village at night. They see a fine man, they kill him, they take him home and hang him up to a tree. They put paint on him and ornamental plants, they comb his hair. He stinks, but that does not matter, they eat him just the same, the fire makes him good. He stays

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727 hanging to the tree for four days and four nights. Then they take him
266 down, and slit up his belly, and wash it, and take out the entrails. They
sing his skin, and scrape it, just as if he were a pig. His skin is white
underneath. They bury the head, and later on they take it up again and
take off the jaw and hang it up in the house. The body they cut into
slices, just as we cut up pigs, first they cut it off at the ankles, then at
the knees, then at the fork. They cook the pieces in an oven and eat
them with taro. This way of cooking a man is called *gohen*.

Some additional details concerning the treatment of a man
brought home alive were told by a young Petats man, who got
them from his father. He told them with evident enjoyment, and
appeared to regret that this sort of thing did not happen any more.

In times before, all the people used to fight. We always won all our
fights. They used to eat plenty of men. If a man was taken alive they
used to hang him up on a tree and cut pieces off his arm, and his leg,
and his shoulder. He would cry out and say: 'Do not cut me, let me go
home.' They would say: 'You are not at home now, you are in our
place, now we shall eat you.' They did not eat him because they were
hungry, but because he was their enemy.'

266 It appeared that the teller's father had not himself eaten human
flesh, but had been the son of a great warrior, and, as a small boy,
had witnessed the procedure he described. Children were never
[858 allowed to partake of it; if they did it was thought that they would
562] become dumb. Women did not usually eat it; the reason given
was 'because they were frightened'.

266 Two occasions on which human flesh was eaten as part of a
565 ceremony are known to me. One is that marking the elevation to
766 the rank of *tsunaum* of a man renowned in war (described on p. 47)
614 and the other, the burial of the head of an enemy who had been
eaten at the stone structure at Tiop, following the birth of a child
to a woman 'belonging to the lineage of the stones' (described on
p. 537). There are probably others, which did not come under my
notice.

266 Under certain prescribed circumstances the flesh of their own
681 people was eaten. This was in all cases done as a punishment for
having broken a strong taboo. The instances known to me are as
follows:

266 In case of adultery between relatives who stand to each other in the
681 relation of *watfifio* (see p. 68). Present punishment—banishment
of both from the village.

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Then all the *urar* cried. Night came. The *urar* who had caught her in the day came and pulled her back. They made her lie down. They put a hood over her, she was cold. She got up. She thought that the eyes of the *urar* were fire. She wanted to get some fire, she took the eyes of the *urar*. One *urar* got up very angry: 'Who has taken my eyes?' The woman said: 'I did, I am cold.' The *urar* said to the woman: 'These men are not fire, it is no good for you to take them.'

Then they all prepared food, they put paint on the woman, two kinds of paint on her head, red and black, and cock's feathers. All the *urar* made a *āāma*, they played the pipes, they all looked at her, they were glad about the woman. Some of the *urar* asked: 'Where did you get this woman you have brought?' They all played the pipes, they made the woman *āāma* with them, they hid her again in the house, they went and fetched taro stalks.

Dawn broke; then they made her sit down among the taro stalks, then they pierced her eyes, they changed her eyes entirely. Then they brought her to Tosisiup, the chief of them all. He asked her: 'What are you doing?' The woman said: 'I hid, and three of your men liked me, and they brought me here.' He asked her: 'What are the names of these three men?' 'No, I don't know their names.' Then the three men came up. They said: 'We brought her, she was angry.' Tosisiup said: 'All right, you send her along with me.' Then he took her away and cut her buttocks, he put a tail on her buttocks, then she became an *urar*.

Discussion

Since the funerary rites are somewhat complicated, a synopsis of the most important parts of them is given below in tabular form emphasizing the differences between the ceremonies as performed for *tuamata*, and those for commoners.

*Tuamata**Commoners**At death.*

Wailing by the whole village. Fire lighted in house and lime burnt. Body kept in house on planks under the roof for 5 or 6 days. Wailing kept up all this time, with the help of people from other villages, for whom pigs, &c., are provided.

Special dance by women at night.

At death.

Wailing by relatives only. Fire lighted and lime burnt. Kept in house for a day or two only, not placed under the roof. Only friends and relatives from other villages attend, if they wish.

No dance.

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Tsunam

Commoners

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On 6th or 7th day.

Body taken out to sea, weighted with stones and thrown in. (Burial substituted later.)

Seclusion of widow for 8 or 10 months. Belts made for all the people of the village.

At end of period of seclusion.

Ceremonial visit of widow to taro garden. Procession to house with spirit of dead man sitting on cordyline plant. Spirit remains in house. Certain restrictions on all the people of the village.

Next day.

Ceremonial visit to shore. End of seclusion for widow.

Some time later (unspecified).

Final feast, removal of belts. Taboos finish.

Some years later.

Burial of pillow, with important feast.

After short interval.

Might be thrown into sea, but was usually buried.

Seclusion of widow for 2 or 3 months. Belts made for relatives only.

At end of period of seclusion.

As for people of rank, but restrictions apply to relatives only.

Next day.

Ceremonial visit to shore. End of seclusion for widow.

Later.

Final feast, removal of belts. Taboos finish.

Some years later.

Burial of pillow, with feast.

It does not seem to have been the custom at any time to reserve sea-burial for persons of *tsunam* lineage exclusively. It might also be accorded to commoners, who, however, seem to have been more usually buried in the ground. As far as I could learn, the choice rested with the relatives, sea-burial being regarded as the better method. My informants could give no reason for this; possibly one might suggest that, since digging a shallow hole (such as serves for a grave nowadays) is less trouble than paddling a canoe a long way out to sea, the choice in the case of a commoner depended upon the amount of trouble the relatives were prepared to take over the matter.

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The difference between the treatment accorded to *tsunam* and to commoners is one of degree rather than of kind. Shorter and simpler mourning, fewer mourners, less food, distinguish the

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funeral of a commoner. In essentials the two are identical. Consistently with this, I have no evidence that there is considered to be any difference in the treatment of the two classes in the after-world. Magor and Tosisiup are looked upon as the rulers of the land of the dead, but they are not connected in any way with the *truman* of actual life, and among the *urur* under their jurisdiction there appears to be no distinction of persons. 764 565 ● 775

Again, no stress seems to be laid on a distinction between the good and the bad, as regards either the character of their lives or the form of their deaths. I found nothing resembling the 'good' and 'bad' deaths which are reported from other areas. (Cf. Moss, 1925, p. 123, &c.) The only evidence of anything in the nature of an 'ethical' distinction is the remark attributed to Tosisiup that he would 'put in the fire' the men who made poison causing another man to die. The possibility of mission influence cannot be entirely excluded here, for though my informant was one of the older men, he was accustomed to attend the mission teacher's services, and the doctrine of punishment by fire seemed to make a special appeal to the natives, including the teacher concerned.¹ 761 777

The first part of the funerary rites seems to be directed towards keeping in touch with the spirit, the second part, from the time of the removal of the belts onwards, towards getting rid of it. The retention of the body as long as possible, the wearing of the belts, which must not have the dirt washed off them, the bringing home of the cordyline plant on which the spirit is supposed to be sitting, all point in the one direction. The removal and destruction of the belts, the lifting of all the taboos, and the fact that the widow is then free to marry again, all point in the other. There would appear to be some connexion between this difference in behaviour and the belief that the dead man takes some time to undergo the change into an *urur*. There seem to be some grounds for the suggestion that the solicitude of his relatives for him during this period may be intended to ease the transition. For example, he is provided with the food to which he is accustomed, because he has not yet learnt to eat the food of the *urur*. 764

Throughout the description of the funerary rites, the spirit of the dead person is never referred to as *urur*, but always as *abin*, a 775

¹ One of the women, who was my special friend, was always urging me to come to the services, on the ground that, if I did not, when I died I would be 'put in the big fire'.

chest with a heavy layer of white paint. This material is a kind of soil that is found in certain areas of Bougainville and called ma (māso in Shortland); this soil, kept wrapped in leaves, until needed, is then pulverized and mixed with the juice of sugar cane so that a rather thick dough is formed. The men do not paint themselves. After a few months another great banquet (mōu in Bougainville and isāisa kavunoi in Shortland) is given in memory of the deceased; after this the women remove their white mourning paint, and thereby bring the whole death ceremony to an end. In some places the place of burial is fenced in with four boards that form an oblong rectangle and in part are carved and painted. Within this fence (called brotoko) all sorts of effects of the deceased are placed: strings of beads, bracelets and similar objects; also bright-flowering ornamental shrubs and flowers are planted on the spot.

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Cremation is to be found on the east coast of Bougainville all the way up to the village of Toboroi; the practice does not seem to exist beyond that point; on the west side I found this custom in Siuai, but likewise no farther north than there.

Formerly it was the rule that a slave was killed at the death of an aristocrat. The custom may have declined somewhat in most recent times, but even today it is still [10] practiced in regions where the natives are not strongly influenced by the whites. I conclude this from the fact that, after I had sought enlightenment on this point from various people and had always received a negative answer, a boy of twelve gave me the desired information. He seemed to see nothing wrong in it and hence found no reason to keep it a secret. Even the older ones ceased to deny it when they saw that I knew about this custom. Normally only one slave is killed; the corpse is not eaten, but remains lying in the same spot until some friends bury it; if this does not happen, then it simply lies there until dogs, boars and decomposition have done their work.

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Masks, Mask Customs and Related Matters

In Bougainville as well as in Buka and on the Nissan Group masks are used for certain festivities. The few masks that I got to see in Bougainville consisted of bent wooden boards that were painted black, and a protruding nose was carved on them; there were apertures for

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